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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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23 November 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AWP ORGAN STRESSES NEED TO INCREASE COMBAT-READINESS

AU231450 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Oct 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Combat-Readiness Is Strengthened by Evaluating all Its Elements"]

[Text] The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always dedicated particular attention to problems of strengthening the military readiness of our armed forces and of our people. The achievements in the field of defense, making Albania now an invincible fortress, demonstrate the country's preparedness for defense, relying entirely on its own forces, to successfully confront the imperialist revisionist encirclement and its constant pressure, will continue to intensify and sharpen. Under these conditions, without underestimating the successes achieved, but without falling into complacency, the further strengthening of revolutionary vigilance is one of the main directions of the party's work in the army and terrain.

The main approach, as the party's Central Committee 9th Plenum recommended, is to work with people and to make them fully conscious of the world situation and that of our country, to fulfill the tasks that everyone has in the programs for their political-military preparedness alongside the obligations under our economic plans. In this endeavour we have gained great experience, which has been enriched particularly in applying the party's line and the teachings of our supreme commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Among our overall problems, the strengthening of our military combat-readiness is considered an important and never ending duty. The organized political education of the people and their military training is geared to this goal. The experience of many districts like those of Kukes, Puke, Gjirokaster, Tirana, Korce, Fier and others tell us that when their commanders or their general staffs study in detail all problems relating to readiness and in turn submit them to their respective party organs or authority, then the cooperation becomes more effective in solving important problems and obligations.

While valuing military readiness as a complex of factors and of the masses, the party is constantly working to make its meaning clear to everyone. We have had to fight narrow and one-sided interpretations of combat-readiness. Nevertheless, the tasks that we face require that commanders, general staffs, cadres and members of all structures fully understand the meaning of combat-readiness without underestimating any of its components.

The most important factor of military readiness, as our party taught us, is the human element and its political and military preparedness. Therefore it is here in this aspect that we should apply great care, to prepare men to be fully conscious of the tasks that they are assigned. This is achieved when political education is presented in a lively manner, accompanied by organizational measures and strictly linked to situations and duties to be performed, when the military training in the free military schools is conducted effectively and with quality, with complete responsibility, real combat conditions, day and night, at varied times in various terrains, and when the duties are fully defined, uninterrupted control is exercised over them for their implementation, and when all duties, after being thoroughly studied, are executed according to norms and well studied objectives in order to achieve them speedily and efficiently. In order to achieve all this, it is necessary that every unit and individual should work harder to increase efficiency. Only in this way can we raise even higher the level of the military combat-readiness. The knowledge of the exact situation at all levels, sections and organs is a must, it is a permanent duty and requirement. The assistance and control at the base should be applied effectively, when necessary, taking corrective measures to rectify anything that needs it.

Of particular importance should be the continuous strengthening of revolutionary vigilance, the perfection of the system of surveillance and notification, the implementation of duties according to military codes, and the strict guarding of state and military secrets.

In this respect the Gjirokaster cadres have acquired great experience, based on the technical-scientific studies the army has made to considerably shorten the time taken to relay the combat-readiness signals and in turn to put them into effect immediately. The constant surveillance of the armaments situation, of munitions, other technical military equipments, and their care and upkeep according to regulations, are important tasks in the complex stages of military readiness. Experience has taught us that the detailed distribution of armaments, clothing and other equipment shortens the time the units need to fulfill their duties in various regions and increase their effectiveness.

The tasks the party has put forward to strengthen military readiness, while evaluating its elements with utmost care, cannot be fulfilled without continued and concrete actions, without effectively exploiting all the scientific opinions and all means available in the military inventory. In this regard, as the party's 9th Plenum of the Central Committee has advised, more rigorous work is required by party organizations with the people, to deepen the attacking spirit, strengthening everywhere the vigilance and discipline and control over the execution of their tasks with a high spirit of responsibility.

CSO: 2100/6

VIOLATIONS OF LAWS IN HANDLING SOCIALIST PROPERTY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "There Is no Proper Administration of Socialist Property Without the Execution of Laws"]

[Text] A high awareness toward work and socialist property characterizes our working people. This is a distinguishing characteristic of our new man that is manifested everywhere. This is shown in the many daily work examples of the revolutionary attitude of the communists, cadres and workers in their efforts to develop production in all branches and to maintain and continually strengthen socialist property which constitutes the granite-like foundation of our socio-economic system.

Socialism, as the first stage of the communist society that emerges from the exploitation system of capitalism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Eighth Party Congress, has its own conditions and characteristics of development, which leave their imprint in the attitude toward property. This factor and the weaknesses in the educational and organizational work of some party and mass organizations and of some state and economic organs make it possible for foreign attitudes toward socialist property to still be noted. They stem not only from the feeling of personal property, from the old concepts of the past about the state property that considered state property as a property belonging to nobody and from the indifferentism of some people who are interested only in themselves and who care very little or not at all if the common property is damaged, and also from the lack of knowledge and of the failure to execute Legislation.

At the Directorate of Control in the Ministry of Finance, for example, you can learn that among damages observed in agriculture the largest part of them are damages done to livestock. Damages have been more considerable in Shkoder, Vlore, Fier, Diber and Kruje districts than in some other districts. Damages to property are also observed in the fruit and vegetable sector. These damages have been more emphasized in Tirana, Elbasan and Kolonje districts. For example, the "17 Nentori" agricultural enterprise in Tirana, as a result of the failure to properly execute the laws in force in regard to the complete taking over of agricultural production by the trade and industry sectors, during last year 10 percent of vegetable production was allocated as fodder

for livestock. This phenomenon was also observed during this year. In the first three months [of this year] 28.8 percent of vegetable production of this agricultural unit was allocated for livestock.

Taking into consideration only these examples, it appears clearly that there is no proper administration of socialist property without the execution of laws. To preserve, protect and properly manage common property is, at the same time, an important legal task for every citizen of our country. As such, this fact was approved by our Constitution. A number of provisions of the Penal Code, the Civil Code, the Labor Code and the Standard Statute for Agricultural Cooperatives also provide protection for property. All these provisions provide various sanctions both for those who knowingly strike out, appropriate, misuse or damage common property and for those who, because of lack of concern, cause damage to property.

Our laws oblige our employees and workers, who handle material or monetary values, to preserve them as the apple of their eyes. For any damage done to these values, employees and workers bear full material responsibility and are obliged to pay for the damage to the last lek. This issue does not tolerate negligence, sentimentalism and petit-bourgeois generosity. And, it is a fact that from one year to the other the measures taken to make amends for damages have been constantly increased. In this regard, better work has been done in Elbasan, Durres, Mat and Lushnje districts. However, this issue has not been properly evaluated by the directors of some agricultural units in Gjirokaster, Permet, Tepelene, Tropoje, Shkoder and Skrapar districts. Some of them, instead of strictly executing the legal and lawful provisions on material responsibility, have kept silent or have tried to exonerate each other.

Also, there are cases when, as a result of careless attitudes on the part of this or that worker, socialist property has been damaged, waste is created in production, goods are damaged in depositories and stores, various machines are abandoned as material without an owner at the mercy of atmospheric agents, excessive and impermissible expenditures are carried out outside established norms and regulations and so forth, while the persons responsible for the material are not always brought to responsibility for the damages they have done. In regard to these occurrences, some directors of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives try to cover them up or to minimize them to the maximum under the excuses: "he is a good man," "they are occasional mistakes that can happen to anybody," "he did it for the first time," "he did it carelessly during the work process and in the interest of work," and so forth. All these attitudes are completely liberal. In addition to other things, these attitudes tell about the ignorance of the provisions of the Labor Code on the adoption of measures to compensate for damages to socialist property. It is precisely for this reason that the party insists on the necessity to improve the level and effectiveness of the legal propaganda work of the party organs and organizations and of their levers so as to prevent any violation of the laws which protect socialist property or, when the laws are violated, to restore their authority at any cost.



The role of sound social opinion is greatly effective in the protection of the socialist property. The delinquent can hide from the law but he can never escape from the vigilant eye of the people. The continuing strengthening of sound social opinion has been and must be in the future one of the most important work fronts of the party, of the state organs and of the mass organizations. In this field, a frontal and organized attack must be carried out against negative manifestations and against petit-bourgeois and liberal concepts and activities in order to instill in everyone the socialist attitude toward the common property.

9150

CSO: 2100/3

## ROLE OF RELIGION AS OPPRESSOR OF WOMEN DISCUSSED

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian Jun 84 p 21

[Article by H. Hako: "Why Religion Is the Most Brutal Enemy of Women"]

[Text] In connection with this question on the part of some readers of the magazine, we are publishing this article, written by H. Hako.

The new generation, especially the young women, has the right to be interested in and should have thorough knowledge about the pernicious conservative and reactionary role that religious ideology has played particularly with regard to the position and role of women. There are whole generations of young women who are growing up today free, without having experienced clerical prejudices and sermons, but we still find their remnants and vestiges even today. For that reason, our new life and women, as an important force, will be called ideologically free when they are completely detached from these vestiges and remnants of the past. It is well known that the main reason for the creation of inequality of the rights of women, in relation to those of men, is their economic slavery. It is well known that among the oppressed and exploited working masses, women are those who suffered more. Religion has accomplished nothing but this bitter social reality and has reinforced and distorted it by means of its dogmas and sermons. Inventing the so-called accusation of "original sin," they allege that it was the first woman who led all mankind into the abyss of countless evils and in religious books the clerics wrote the curse of "God" against her in this way: "But I will augment your sorrow and in your pregnancy you will bear children with pain; you will be an enjoyment for your husband and he will rule over you." (The Bible.)

The Muslim religion too, like all other religions, has called the birth of a girl a great misfortune for the family and an inevitable evil. In the Qur'an it says that God "did not prefer girls to boys...When one of them is told that he has a daughter, his face becomes dark and black and he remains sorrowful" (Sura 16, ayat 60). [The first part of this quotation appears to be a distortion from Sura 42, ayat 49: "He bestows male or female (children) according to His will," while the second part is actually ayat 58, not 60, of Sura 16. Tr.] This attitude has also found expression in the prejudices regarding preventing the birth of girls by giving the names Sose [from the word for "finish"] and Mjaftime [from the word for "enough"] in divorcing a woman who has not given birth or in marrying a second wife, etc.

It was these prejudices that once forced people in our mountains to leave a woman who was giving birth crouching in a dark corner, abandoned and neglected by man. The spirit of the indictment and degradation of woman has been continually propagated and reinforced by clerics and theologians, as well as by writers and ideologists of the reactionary classes.

"You found woman more bitter than death;" "among the wildest animals you cannot find any more harmful than woman;" "...woman erred and went astray;" "if your child is a girl, do not teach her to write;" "everything is from God except woman;" "woman is the slave of God in heaven, of the master on earth and of her husband," etc. These are only a small part of their views, dogmas and canon laws which burdened both the back and the spirit of Albanian women with their full weight and gloom. There are also many other religious preachings and practices, canon laws, superstitions and backward customs connected with religion, known and documented in the life of our society, that make religious ideology qualify, with reason, as the most brutal enemy of women. Our society has given a death blow to both religious ideology and to all old reactionary ideologies, but the struggle against religious remnants, superstitions and backward customs, as well as for the emancipation of women, has not ended. In the process of this continuing struggle, the most infrequent instances of belief in the predicting and fulfilling power of dreams, fondness for fortune-telling or reading coffee grounds, and belief in the miraculous power of some person, thing or so-called "holy place" must be combatted mercilessly. Equally harmful are the remnants of some old customs in commemoration of the third, seventh and fortieth anniversary of the death of relatives, etc. In all these cases, it is the old, the religious ideology that speaks. To underrate these manifestations is to underrate the harsh ideological struggle without which our fatherland cannot proceed on the path of socialist, free and independent development. "A truly socialist country," it was said at the 8th AWP congress, "must also be distinguished by the high cultural level of its people, by their rich spiritual life, by their sound esthetic tastes and by their mode of existence." Our new life creates and fosters spiritual wealth with the loftiest scientific, ideological and humanitarian content, composed of dialectical materialist philosophy, new socialist culture and scientific atheism.

12249

CSO: 2100/2



ALBANIA

BRIEFS

NEW DPRK ENVOY--(Pak Yeng-Si), newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DPRK to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has arrived in our country. He was welcomed at the airport by Labo Abazi, chief of a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Oct AU]

CSO: 2100/6

PRC, GDR ANNIVERSARIES, IDEAS ON REUNIFICATION COMPARED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Oct 84 p 12

[Article by P.J. Winters: "Chinese and German Communists"]

[Text] At the beginning of October the PRC and the GDR each celebrated the 35th anniversary of its birth as a nation, China on October 1 and the GDR on October 7. Those able to attend the festivities in both Beijing and East Berlin were aware of substantial differences despite all the ritualistic camaraderie. In both Beijing and East Berlin there were large military parades. It was the first in China since 1959, and from carbines to inter-continental missiles, only weapons made in China itself were displayed. In East Berlin the "parade honoring the national people's army" is an integral part of the festivities on the "national holiday of the GDR" and Soviet-produced weapons are seen almost exclusively. In Beijing the military parade was followed by a long, colorful, festive parade indicative of the new China dedicated to modern technology and management. At the same time it reflected a China aware of its ancient traditions which no longer condemns as "feudal" or "capitalistic" its precious legacies of Chinese culture and customs. While onlookers in Beijing enjoyed the dance of the dragon and the slit skirts of the ladies, the parade in East Berlin was limited to a display of armed force.

The huge square in front of the Gate of Heavenly Peace--whose cobblestones are numbered so that everyone can find his assigned place at large gatherings--was flanked on October 1 by gigantic portraits of Marx and Engels on one side and Lenin and Stalin on the other. In the middle of the square, however, very prominently displayed in front of the large obelisk, was a portrait of Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) who was interim president of the Republic of China following the fall of the Chinese empire in 1911. A non-communist, nationalist Chinese, he had provided the people's revolution in China with goals and structure. Directly opposite this portrait, at the Gate of Heavenly Peace, as always, was the portrait of Mao who at precisely this spot 35 years ago had proclaimed the People's Republic of China. Standing here today is Deng Xiaoping, China's grand old man and at the same time the most powerful man in the collective leadership, viewing the parade on this national holiday. This "ancestral portrait gallery" is confusing to the German visitor. He tries to imagine Stalin on display in East Berlin next to Marx, Engels and Lenin--and then Philipp Scheidemann or Friedrich Ebert, the first president of the German Reich, or Walter Ulbricht.

In Beijing the foreign guests and selected members of the Chinese people's liberation army in their uniforms which show no indication of rank are on the VIP viewing stand. Before the beginning of the parade a man distributes among them copies of the text of Deng's speech in various languages. The English, French and Spanish translations are snapped up. Only one of the translations is repeatedly handed back to him, causing laughter among the people he tries to give them to. With a broad smile he finally leaves carrying under his arm a stack of copies of Deng's speech in Russian.

#### Soviets Not There

The Soviets do not seem to be there. In the 1950's, if this man had been allowed to distribute translations of the speech at all--especially before it was given--the response would have been quite the opposite. In East Berlin those viewing the parade honoring the national people's army included, in addition to the state and party leadership of the GDR, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, the supreme commander of Soviet forces, Germany, and their highest-ranking political general, as well as the representative of the supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact forces within the national people's army of the GDR, a Soviet colonel general. That "the GDR is eternally and irrevocably allied with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" is even stated within the 1974 GDR constitution.

The new Chinese constitution of 1982 naturally contains no such thing. Instead it talks about "independent and autonomous foreign policy" and in its preamble it says, "Taiwan is a part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It is the sacred duty of the Chinese people, including the citizens of Taiwan, to complete the enormous task of the reunification of the fatherland." One wonders whether there is anyone in China, in Communist China, who would demand that the preamble to the constitution be changed--as in the FRG where the basic constitutional law exhorts "the entire German nation to bring about the unity and freedom of Germany in free self-determination".

Before the great parade in Beijing Deng Xiaoping gave a short speech which made clear that to Communist China "national reunification" is a historical task from which they cannot turn away. "We favor peaceful reunification with Taiwan," Deng said. "Our policies in this regard are known to all and will not change. They come from deep within the hearts of all of the descendants of the 'yellow emperor'" (the legendary forebear of the Chinese nation). "The peaceful reunification of our fatherland cannot be impeded; sooner or later it will be realized." Reunification to the Chinese means incorporating Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao into the PRC. The island nation of Taiwan with just under 19 million inhabitants is the political and in the meantime perhaps also true homeland today to only 1.9 percent of the approximately one billion people of China. But it still represents more people than live in the GDR.

The Chinese communists embrace national reunification; the German communists in the GDR derive an opposing view from the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. "Mixing socialism and capitalism is just as impossible as mixing fire and water. Relations between the FRG and the GDR can only be based on

coexistence; only in this way can the cause of peace be served. We are talking about two sovereign, independent and equal states which each determine their own internal and external affairs," wrote Erich Honecker on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. And in his celebratory speech he said, "The 35 years of the existence of the GDR bear witness to the fact that history has spoken. The subject is closed." It was up to Kurt Hager, the secretary for culture and science within the SED central committee to add, "There are two German states and there is no unity of German culture ... There never can or will be a reunification of the two German states."

Such statements must appear abrupt and unpatriotic to the Chinese communists whose national traditions go back thousands of years. Deng and those who rule China with him also certainly know that socialistic and capitalistic systems cannot be combined, but they are able to live with this fact. "Based on the fundamental interests of the nation and its people, and in view of the historical developments and the current state of affairs in Taiwan," said Premier Zhao Ziyang in May at the National People's Congress in Beijing, "we have proposed the concept of 'one nation, two systems' to be put into effect following reunification."

The concept of "one nation, two systems" comes from Deng Xiaoping. It purports that "reunification" can not and may not mean that Taiwan will be swallowed up by the motherland. Rather it means that following reunification the current social system on Taiwan will remain unchanged and will differ in principle from that of the mainland as has been the case up to now. However, only the PRC will be empowered to represent all of China internationally. The local government of Taiwan will continue to make its own internal political decisions, and Taiwan will retain its own army. Beijing will send neither soldiers nor officials to Taiwan. Taiwan itself would be responsible for the party, the government and the army in Taiwan. Taiwan would also have an independent judicial system. The last word need not come from Beijing.

#### One Nation, Two Systems

Despite these exclusive rights granted to Taiwan, Beijing would still make positions in the central government available to politicians from Taiwan. The agreement recently initialled in Beijing between the PRC and Great Britain concerning the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 is based on the maxim "one nation, two systems". It will certainly have an influence on Beijing's efforts to achieve reunification with Taiwan.

Applying the Chinese model to Europe or Germany would be no simple matter. But that does not mean that we cannot benefit from the wisdom of the Chinese.

12552

CSO: 2300/75

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CLEAR COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL ORDER DEMANDED OF ARTISTS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 9/10 Sep/Oct 84 (signed to press 17 Aug 84) pp 907-912

[Article by H.-J. Hoffmann, member CC SED and Minister of Culture: "Culture and Art - Helpers in Shaping our Society"]

[Text] The founding of the GDR was a turning point in the history of our people and of Europe and, with it, the greatest cultural act on German soil. "With the founding of this state was fulfilled what many generations of honest Germans had dreamt and had bravely been fighting for: A Germany of peace. A life without exploitation and suppression. A secure future for the children and children's children."<sup>1</sup>

For the first time in German history we can speak of a state the cultural aspirations of which are based on power and property relations that are truly humane, of a national policy that recognizes culture in the unity of material living conditions and intellectual factors as a vital need for every citizen and aims at constantly elevating the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living. The treasures of culture have been opened up to the entire people. Socialist national culture spreads an ever increasing wealth in contents and forms. It has greatly contributed to the GDR's assuming a place of respect in the socialist community of states and in world politics.

With our conception of culture--extensively formed especially since the Eighth SED Congress--we stand in the tradition of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, Thaelmann's central committee and the experiences of the Soviet Union in implementing the socialist cultural revolution. The KPD, ever since its founding, had been trying firmly to integrate cultural policy and cultural activities within the proletarian class struggle at large. Also a profound trait of its strategy in the struggle against fascism and war was the defense and saving of the culture of the German people, its language, literature, art and science. In the struggle against fascism and war decisive foundations of our alliance policy were laid which stood up as a firm basis for our successful cultural policy after the liberation of our people throughout all the phases of the unified revolutionary process in our country. Already in 1944, the KPD leadership collective headed by Wilhelm Pieck in Moscow elaborated the conception for a new Germany to be erected after the crushing of fascism, which contained the fundamental tasks for a spiritual-cultural rebirth and transformation as an organic component that was then already



understood as "a national liberation and construction effort of the grandest style in the ideological-moral sphere."<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Pieck, logically, at the KPD's First Central Cultural Conference in 1946, set the task to "create the ideas of genuine, deeply felt and combative humanity and true freedom and democracy, the ideas of international understanding and social progress to become the predominant forces in our cultural life and, with it, vital forces that set the directions for all our political and public life."<sup>3</sup>

What Wilhelm Pieck demanded at the time has now become reality in our country. The way, as charted, was correct. It has proven itself historically through the scientific and always creative policy of our Marxist-Leninist party. We are holding on to the ideas on which it is based while using the experiences of more than three decades of struggle. Relying on what was accomplished, we are implementing the tasks of the cultural and art policy of the present with a clear view to the future while bringing the advantages and accomplishments of socialism fully to bear on it.

#### A Meaningful and Splendid Existence for All

Our own experiences and those of the fraternal socialist countries corroborate the theoretical insight that it is vital for socialism constantly to shape at a mass scale men's socialist convictions and modes of conduct so that they, on the basis of our scientific world-outlook, become aware of their new place in production and in society. That goal is served both by our political-ideological work and by all our intellectual-cultural life. At the same time it is important to make all aware and conscious, through the way ordinary living is fashioned, that the results of their labor are to their own benefit. Through satisfying their intellectual-cultural needs, their standard of living, and their chances for a cultured way of life, this connection becomes perceptible. The meaning of socialism, after all, lies in a fulfilled existence in human dignity, in a creative lifespan, rich in needs and pleasures, or full of culture. Through the continuing implementation of the main task we respond to the fact that a process got started in our society in which, to quote Comrade Erich Honecker, "the material together with the cultural standard of living of the people is rising. Not the one at the expense of the other, but both in close interaction. This entwining must inevitably become ever tighter and more and more determine the formation of the socialist life-style."<sup>4</sup> Using this close interaction deliberately and effectively planning and directing the social processes in their material and cultural unity became a fundamental developmental requirement.

Internal as well as external developmental conditions require more pressingly than ever that we comprehend and control our economic strategy in its interaction with the further development of the socialist way of life and culture. For one thing, socialist culture and art with high ideas, broad massive effectiveness and profound ties to life, in its special and unique way helps much in releasing what is creative in man, in forming and reinforcing in him socialist value orientations, socialist positions and attitudes toward life, and historic optimism, and in elevating his pleasure in work and living, his feeling comfortable in socialist society, and hence his performance readiness. In turn, it is precisely our economic performance improvement that lays the foundations for securing and further elevating the material and cultural standard of living.

Increasing importance therefore attaches to the 10th party congress requirement "further to improve everywhere the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for our performance improvement."<sup>5</sup> The continued development according to plan of the working and living conditions in the combines, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions and the resolute implementation of our housing construction program and an aesthetic manner of shaping our living environment are as much part of it as is the steady improvement of the ideological content and massive effectiveness of the intellectual-cultural life.

To solve this task, the elaboration and implementation of long-term conceptions on the cultural development in the bezirks and kreises has proven an important management tool for coordinating all social forces and for close cooperation with all creators of culture and artists. Insights were confirmed and experiences were gained that should be paid much more attention to still in the future everywhere. For example, in the cultural attitude taken by the various classes and strata, what they all have in common becomes ever more prominent; at the same time, however, differentiation and variety in individual interests, needs and inclinations also increase. More attention has to be paid to this dialectic in the cultural interests, needs and demands by the workers and farmers, the intellectuals, the young people and senior citizens and the sexes in shaping our intellectual-cultural life. Mainly, without curtailing our attention to the class of the cooperative farmers and the other social strata in our society, we have to pay more attention, develop further and satisfy better the cultural needs of the workers class, especially of the production workers and their families, the young workers, male and female. That follows naturally from their leading role in our society.

Man's work and conduct in our society gain a holistic and deliberately creative character precisely because social circumstances and more and more also the working conditions and the contents of labor make it possible for him to be working not merely for the sake of his subsistence. As impulses for action they become all the more effective the more a man also experiences the beauty and nobility of his labor, his conduct, his humanity, through his reason and his sentiments, and the more he will reject and oppose, by reason and sentiment, unethical, dishonest and base thoughts and acts simply because they are ugly and vile. Likewise, patriotism and internationalism, loyalty to socialism and solidarity all the more become a truly moving force when they amount to a political conviction, an ideological position and, with it, aesthetically informed understanding and emotion. Moreover, the defense readiness will be more conscious and combative in someone who not only knows but feels why he bears a weapon and against whom he must use it.

#### Firm and Productive Relations between Art and Society

To take part, in this comprehensive sense, in the intellectual, ethical and aesthetic molding of man in our volatile and embattled times through their specific and unique possibilities also is the mission of our literature and art; and that then also defines the responsibility the artist has in our society today more than ever.



Never yet in our history have art and artists had such a sure footing for their work and broad field of action as today. Among the accomplishments of our 35 years of history is that millions need the arts as an indispensable part of their lives. "Literature and art meet an ever greater need of our people to understand the meaning and values of life and the historic possibilities of their social relations. Gaining knowledge about oneself is felt to be more necessary than ever, felt to be vital. This is where the discoveries of art enter, where they get involved in the shaping of the developed socialist society."<sup>6</sup> Socialist realism in art became varied in its themes, signatures and genres; many simplistic or oversimplified views were surmounted creatively. We kept understanding more and more clearly that in socialist realism the variety of possible as well as necessary individual genres, relying on unified creative principles such as party-mindedness, solidarity with the people, and a content of socialist ideas steadily keep increasing and must increase if art is to meet the constantly developing requirements and needs of socialist society. The 10th SED Congress expressed the high appreciation for what the artists and creators of culture are doing. They have a "great share in that the values and ideals of socialism more and more emphatically determine the working people's thoughts, feelings and actions." They have "produced much that is part of our constantly changing socialist reality while it also has a part in effecting these changes."<sup>7</sup>

Our cultural policy aims at using all opportunities to promote the creation and dissemination of those works that are partial to securing peace and strengthening socialism in the struggles of our time. The cooperation, confident while yet firm in principle, between our party, the socialist state and all creators of art whose work is committed to peace and humanism, democracy, anti-imperialist solidarity and socialism, is a basic prerequisite for further advances in the development of socialist realism in art and of our socialist national culture. We have not be swayed from our firm intent continuously further to develop and deepen this creative climate and relationship of trust by the agitation and diversion policy of the imperialist class enemy and their ideologues in the past and shall not let us be so swayed in the future either.

Many a hot dispute for or against a work, the ideological issue-taking over creative problems, are part of this relationship of trust. The high responsibility our society attaches to art and asks of art virtually demands, in view of the intensification of the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism, not to be indifferent to works that do not meet that demand--to lack of ideas, ideological vagueness, sloppy positions in a class-bound judgment on phenomena and interconnections; it will not tolerate any superficial or distorted and false account of life in our society. What is the image of the world, the image of man, the morality that a given work emits? What attitude toward life does it convey? Does it really tell us much of our life with its revolutionary breath, its struggles and conflicts? Can moral and philosophic ideas be gained from it in terms of socialism? Does it encourage or discourage? Such ideological questions ought to be raised more in frank disputes--passionately, concretely, aimed at promoting and defending socialist ideological positions and, thus, at taking issue with images of the world that are alien to us. For further developing a creative atmosphere it also is necessary--as the eighth Central Committee session has demanded--that the ministry of culture, editorial boards, publishing houses and other institutions that disseminate art to a higher extent fulfil their responsibility in preserving clear, party-minded, civic positions.<sup>8</sup>

The demands for high quality in works of art are not merely a moral claim by the people on its artists. These are demands made on works of art growing out of the struggles of our times and of the function of the arts in socialism. It is up to the artists in our country to face the decisive intellectual and political issues of our time more effectively in a committed and party-minded manner--the questions of peace and socialism, of the place of man in society, and the global questions of human development. They have done essential and autonomous things in grasping the dialectics of socialism. It has been and is important to them to assume that the shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of pervasive changes in all fields. It is to be explored aesthetically how pervasive these changes are, what it is that changes, and wherein their revolutionary character lies. These are not merely the "hardships of the plains." Historically new questions have to be coped with--the nuclear danger, economic warfare, microelectronics, robot technology, the housing construction program, environmental protection, Nicaragua, Grenada ....

Many artists reflect the scientific-technological progress and its effects on man and nature. They inquire into the meaning of steady performance increases. These are serious and real problems for the solution of which the correct position has to be gained. Imperative for it is creatively using the insights made available in party documents and by the sciences. And clarity is needed in the basic position: economic growth is a means to an end, no end in itself. The purpose of socialism is the well-being of the people; the all-round development of personality and an increasingly better satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural needs are the end of our policy. Ends and means must not be confused.

A continued successful development of literature and art significantly depends on that the authors and artists, especially the younger ones among them, become still much more familiar with our party policy and, in conformity with it, express the purpose and meaning of our life and struggle through their works. Our time needs works of art that strengthen socialism, depict socialism as the only possible alternative for the progress of mankind, provide awareness for the unity between socialism and peace, and place at their center the active history-forming hero, the working class and its representatives. Further developing the combative character of our arts is necessary--also in the sense of a faster operative reaction to current results in the struggle, by its own appropriate means, of course. In the 35th year of our workers and farmers power it becomes clear again that what counts mainly is the orientation or aesthetic treatment of the historic accomplishments of real socialism to probe into the whither and whence of our way--that new works of socialist realism that are shaping the beauties and conflicts of life expressively and impressively convey an image of man and human society that is all-inclusive, true and turned toward the future.

#### Cultural Heritage--The Source of Strength for our Spiritual Life

Our republic has proven a sure homeland and creative successor to all the progressive, humanistic and revolutionary ideas, values and struggles in the history of the German people. Our patriotism dips into the achievements and accomplishments of the present and the deep sources of cultural history.

Our rapport to our legacy and tradition is creative, critical, appropriating and profoundly practical. It is an indispensable element of our opting for historic progress, for the reasonable and the humane in the struggles of our time. It strengthens us in our rigorous confrontation with all reactionary elements in history and with all attempts by imperialist policy and ideology to reevaluate and extend them and to make them serviceable to their anti-human goals and adventures today.

Altogether, our way of viewing our entire heritage has become more attentive, comprehensive and critical. The picture we have of our tradition became broader, more differentiated, more colorful. We also know more accurately today that a cultural legacy includes more than historic knowledge and what becomes accessible in art museums. It comes from the entire mode of life, the festivals and customs relating to the work traditions and social circumstances, from the musical and linguistic culture, the dances and fashions, and the technical and scientific culture. That also includes the historic appearance of our towns and communities--not only their architecture but also the people that lived and worked there and the events that took place there.

Turning thus to the best traditions of our people provided our society with a width and breadth of intellectual vision that would then also include the great cultural achievements and creations of other peoples as that all belongs to all mankind. Only someone who knows and respects other peoples' cultures can creatively preserve, understand and lead upward the culture of his own people. Therefore has a productive relationship with our national traditions become inseparable from our desire lovingly to preserve, cultivate, explore and disseminate the treasures and values in the cultures of the peoples in the Soviet Union, in the fraternal socialist countries and in all of world culture, particularly also of those peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America whose social and historic rise constitutes a major current of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in our era.

The patriotism in our culture is organically linked with the spirit, the sense, the objectives of proletarian internationalism. Nationalism and chauvinism, anticommunism, racism and racial superiority--predominant basic features in the imperialist German culture--do not exist in our socialist national culture. Through the further development of our socialist national culture we are making our contribution to the development and strengthening of the international culture of socialism, the real alternative, in human dignity and assured of the future, for the uneasiness about survival that threatens human existence, the hostility to humanity, of the late bourgeois imperialist society and its intellectual-cultural reflexes.

As a solid member of the community of socialist states, the GDR with its culture is closely linked to the multinational culture of the peoples in the USSR and the cultures in the other socialist countries. Collaborating with their creators of culture, scientists and artists is part of normal cultural life in our country. What a change from the night of fascism, which had also, not last, placed our people in spiritual and cultural isolation!

Within the last decade in particular new objective conditions arose for cultural cooperation. Under the impact, especially, of scientific and technological progress and of the development and spread of the mass media, the internationalization of cultural life is assuming unprecedented dimensions. The nations of all continents seek cultural acquaintance, mutual intellectual understanding and the exchange of cultural values. The basic target and precondition for international cultural cooperation lies in preserving and consolidating peace, eliminating the imperialist arms buildup, creating an atmosphere of trust and excluding all interference in the domestic affairs of other states. That is why we resolutely oppose any attempts at propagating, under the slogan of "free cultural exchange," ideas of nationalism, chauvinism and revanchism, racism, apartheid, colonialism and neocolonialism, tutelage and discrimination against other peoples and war agitation. Especially in the current tense international situation, the culture and art of the GDR therefore knows of no higher obligation than making through all its means and possibilities an effective contribution to attracting and bringing together all the forces in the world that could politically defeat the U.S. and NATO confrontation and arms buildup course and effect changes for the better in the world political situation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "GDR 35th Anniversary Appeal," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21/22 January 1984, p 1.
2. Johannes R. Becher, "Remarks about our Cultural Tasks," "Gesammelte Werke" [Collected Works], Vol 16, Aufbau Verlag, Berlin/Weimar, 1978, pp 362-363.
3. Wilhelm Pieck, "For the Renewal of German Culture," "Reden und Aufsätze" [Speeches and Essays], Vol II, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1950, p 44.
4. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 29.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 105-106.
6. Kurt Hager, "Gesetzmäßigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkräfte und Werte des Sozialismus" [Inevitabilities of our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 59.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., pp 105, 107.
8. Comrade Kurt Hager, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 8. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 52.



## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SED HISTORIAN LAYS CLAIM TO ALL OF GERMAN HISTORY

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 9/10 Sep/Oct 84 (signed to press 17 Aug 84) pp 920-926

[Article by E. Diehl, member CC, Deputy director of Institute for Marxism-Leninism under CC SED and chairman of Council for Historiography of the GDR: "The Historical Basis of our Fatherland"]

[Text] "The GDR is deeply and firmly rooted in all of German history," so says the 35th anniversary appeal.<sup>1</sup> Ever since class antagonisms arose, our people's history has also been a history of class struggles. Different forms of society were replacing one another in the course of it. From it finally evolved, inevitably and in conformity with the essentials of our era, the socialist GDR as the highest level of social progress attained thus far on German soil. Much as our republic was the outcome of the radical and irrefutable break with everything reactionary in German history, mainly with German imperialism, militarism and fascism, so does it also embody the continuity of everything revolutionary, progressive and humanistic in the German past. The GDR and the socialist German nation developing in it are the continuation and consummation of all the forward-pointing aspirations and struggles by our people's progressive social forces and personalities throughout many centuries, mainly those of the revolutionary German workers movement.

Not until the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party took over, not until the socialist revolution--the first successful people's revolution in our history--our people's destiny could be resolutely turned to the good forever. That, however, also lent deeper meaning to all the progressive struggles and aspirations in the German past and the sacrifices they extracted: Nothing of it was in vain; all this has borne fruit, even if frequently only after bitter defeats and serious reversals, and it finds its fulfilment with the successful shaping of the exploitation-free socialist society on German soil.

#### Outcome of a Struggle of Generations

The great revolutionary insurrections and movements through which the history-shaping strength of the people's masses manifested itself most visibly all led to our republic. Milestones in it were the Reformation and the Peasants' War of the 16th century as well as the first republican bourgeois-democratic state gained by the struggle on German soil as one of the immediate effects of the French Revolution, the Mainz Republic. Part of it also are the national liberation movement in the early 19th century and the progressive aspirations of the

middle class, the democratic petty bourgeoisie and the young German workers movement, which expressed themselves most emphatically through the 1848/49 Revolution.

German history proceeded as part of European and world history. So it also, time and time again, received forward-pointing impulses, in particular, by the progressive movements, achievements and ideas of other nations. The most profound turning point in the development of mankind assumed fundamental importance in the course of the class conflict on German soil: the Great Socialist October Revolution. In the new era, initiated by the Red October, in the German November Revolution of 1918/19, in the class warfare of the Weimar Republic and in heroic resistance against fascist barbarism those forces grew, under working class leadership, out of the struggles of which finally our workers and farmers power arose. Decisive was that the working people, in the KPD, now had a toughened and experienced leadership force which, firmly based on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, could point the way to a united front of communists, social democrats and unionists, all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces, against German imperialism and its war and catastrophic policy. Thus the great chance could be used in our country that was granted our people by the Soviet Union's world historic act of liberation, by the triumph of the first socialist country and its allies over the criminal fascist dictatorship, and an entirely new chapter in the history of our people was opened.

As a socialist state we are beholden to all that was gained in new insights into nature and society throughout the various periods of German history, to what was created in future-bearing, humanistic ideals, and what helped enrich men's life and world culture. Firmly and irrevocably embedded in our socialist German national culture are the imperishable insights and achievements of the 16th century German humanists, the great ideas of German Enlightenment, which partly pointed far beyond the class society, German classical literature and art, and classical German philosophy, which became a source for Marxism. What the great minds produced in our culture--masters of the German language, important explorers, discoverers and inventors, frequently through much conflict and often not without contradictoriness--is preserved among us and contained in our future-oriented achievements on behalf of socialism and peace.

Our being rooted in all of German history includes all its epochs. That pertains, e.g., to many centuries of social development before the Reformation and the Peasants' War in which on German soil also the feudal society evolved and developed and, through contradictory processes, much of remaining value was achieved toward social progress. These were centuries when a German feudal state emerged and the German people formed as an ethnic unit. Especially at that time--particularly through the laborious efforts of the peasants--rural development was pushed ahead and agrarian land and the forests were being divided in a manner that lasted for a long time and is in part still perceptible today. The establishing of towns, mostly at that time, attests to the creativeness of the broad masses and to the role of the crafts and of commerce. Also the class struggles in those epochs, peasants' insurrections, the urban communal movement, plebeian rebellions and other intra-urban conflicts and anti-feudal heretical movements are among the traditions that remain unforgettable in our socialist land.

Facing up to all of German history likewise means making no detours around complicated, contradictory processes and events and personalities, facing up to them in their pro and con. As we are placing under severe criticism all that was reactionary and obstructive, all that frequently had a lasting impact on the history of Prussia and other German territorial states, we still keep in mind that even under those conditions cultural and other accomplishments were achieved, that there too social inevitabilities were at work. There too, though suppressed and plundered, the people were active and there existed progressive class forces, class forces and their representatives, pushing ahead.

Exhibitions, e.g., give an idea of the variety and wealth of cultural and scientific achievements in the German territorial states that in part acquired European fame. They receive much public attention and demonstrate the seriousness and sense of responsibility with which our socialist republic also preserves that legacy in making it meaningful to the present time. By proceeding that way we expand and broaden our opportunities for paying tribute, in harmony with the actual course of history, to the contribution from diverse social forces to social progress in its whole variety. Comrade Erich Honecker said about that: "Our workers and farmers state implements the ideals of the best sons of the German people in the spirit of its policy for the good of the people. Among the progressive traditions we are cultivating and extending are the work and legacy of those who contributed to progress and to the development of world culture, regardless of their social and class ties."<sup>2</sup>

The focal point of our image of history continues to be the workers class, it being the class that made the main contribution to the most profound turning point in our history. We also appreciate the achievements of all other working classes and strata, the peasants and plebeians, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. Our proceeding consistently from the positions of historical materialism demands of us always to keep in mind the antagonistic character of social development under exploitative conditions and to illuminate the share the exploiter classes and their representatives had at the time in enforcing social progress. It means approaching each sector of historic development with criteria that are inherent to it: bringing out what is permanent, explaining what is contradictory, and taking the needed issue, on principle, with all that was reactionary and hostile to progress in the activities of German exploiter classes.

#### History--A Live Stream of Knowledge

What it actually amounts to is drawing, also in German history, all the implications from the fact that socialism, to give ever more perfect shape to its values and advantages, needs to know everything produced in previous periods in the history of mankind, what material and cultural values were created and were left to successive generations. "Socialism in the GDR," so says our anniversary appeal, "is the heir and executor of all that was good, progressive, humane and democratic in history because it embodies progress, democracy and humanity itself."<sup>3</sup> Precisely because socialism nurtures and challenges the development of human creative capacities in an unprecedented manner, our people needs the kind of comprehensive view at the past that does not cover up the contradictions and ignores nothing of permanent value. That has only become more pressing in view of the dangers emanating from aggressive imperialism for the future of mankind and illuminates the responsibility socialism has for the continuation of human development.



Lenin it was who first explained this concern on the part of the revolutionary workers class: "One can become a communist only when one enriches one's memory with all the treasures mankind has unearthed."<sup>4</sup> Wholly in that sense, Comrade Erich Honecker underscored: "A basic feature of our rapport with our historic legacy is that we accept and cultivate the efforts and heritage from all who contributed to progress and the development of world culture, extending them in terms of our socialist and humanistic ideals."<sup>5</sup> These then are neither pragmatic nor temporary, tactical considerations but reasons of principle, stemming from the humanistic nature of socialism, of our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, that induce us continually to renew our knowledge about the history of our people and tolerate no standstill here either.

Politicians, historians and journalists in the FRG seem baffled about the purposive approach our society has taken and its results because there, after all, it had been fashionable for a while to talk a great deal about the "GDR's escape from German history." That was a miscalculation, as one is forced to admit today. Now, of course, when the FRG mass media are talking about the GDR's "rethinking" German history, it is only another untruth set in circulation and an illusion on their part as well.

The fact is that in such a key issue as our socialist fatherland's sense of historic identity, no "rethinking," or "new start," ever was necessary, for all that. That should be sufficiently clear by looking at the structures of ideas by Marx and Engels or the historic studies by Franz Mehring and other representatives of the proletarian vanguard. They kept expressing themselves not only about the history of the workers movement, but about the basic issues of German and world history as well. All that, likewise, is attested to by our party's theoretical and practical efforts in each phase of our republic's history and by the results of the GDR's social science efforts and its achievements in socialist culture and public education. Cogently Comrade Erich Honecker spoke of our consciousness of history as a "live stream of knowledge that never must or will stand still. None of this means a reorientation in the Marxist conception of history, but its constant enrichment."<sup>6</sup>

In connection with our efforts in further strengthening the GDR in every way and in safeguarding peace, we are eager to tap the whole wealth of German history as completely and cohesively as possible for an all-inclusive national history of the GDR. From the positions of historical materialism extensive answers have then also be furnished on some topics which was not possible thus far. To cope with the requirements that come with it we now possess a higher measure of our own scientific and methodological experiences, and we are learning from the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

The point is to root our people more deeply and solidly still in the historic ground of our socialist fatherland while our time is buffeted by storms. The main thing always is to deepen the people's relationship with its current socialist experience. Not until we formed our socialist society could become real, under party leadership, and through the diligent and creative efforts of our people, what many generations of revolutionaries had fought for, many democrats and humanists had dreamt, and poets and thinkers had yearned for. And nothing of that applies to the imperialist German state, the FRG. When one hears speculations there, official ones too, that our intensive preoccupation with national

traditions could result in something like "common concerns" between the GDR and the FRG, it shows how blind they are--to put it mildly--to historic realities. Such speculations can make no difference to the permanent existence of the GDR and its role as a reliable bulwark of socialism and peace in Central Europe.

#### The Historic Mission of the Workers Class Implemented

The workers class and its revolutionary party enjoy the crucial distinction for the rule of imperialism having been terminated forever, for exploitation and suppression having been eliminated and for socialism having become a mighty social reality. When almost 150 years ago the organized German workers movement was formed through the League of the Just and circa 140 years ago, under the decisive influence by Marx and Engels, the Communist League evolved, the deliberate and organized struggle began for enforcing the revolutionary goals and ideals of the workers class which today shape the appearance of our socialist country. In the efforts of the German workers class and its revolutionary party we have found embodied since the main line of social progress on German soil, which prepared, and in the end executed, the most profound turning point in the history of our people.

The best representatives of the German proletariat never reconciled themselves to the existence of the capitalist exploiter society with its characteristic suppression and social injustice and with the crises and rapacious wars endemic to it. Even under the toughest conditions they held on to the objective, set down in the Communist Manifesto, of the overthrow of bourgeois rule and the seizure of political power by the proletariat, understanding that this was the crucial condition for bringing socialism to realization.

The founding and stable existence and rise of the socialist GDR on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism in Europe proved them right and refuted all who opposed them or surrendered revolutionary positions. In the revolutionary solution of the main question in the class struggle, the power question, in the birth and successful development of the workers and farmers state, and in the concomitant, and historically completely novel, release of all the creative capacities of the working people are reflected the correctness and victoriousness of the struggle conducted by many generations of proletarian revolutionaries, in the end by Ernst Thaelmann's party, for a German state of workers and farmers, for a socialist Germany.

The revolutionary vanguard of the workers class led all working people and all interested in democratic and progressive development by its policy and struggle. Already way back in the mid-19th century, Heinrich Heine dreamt of a different Germany. He put that into the words of a "Germany of the German people," which he opposed--from revolutionary-democratic positions--to the "old, official Germany" of the princely and aristocratic reaction.<sup>7</sup> Barely nine decades later, another great German writer, Heinrich Mann, confronted with the barbarism of fascist German imperialism and actively involved in the antifascist struggle, could, with similar hopes, be already much more specific: "The German people's state of the future will come out of the unified workers class. Unified, it will be the model demonstrating the people's state as attainable to all working people in all strata and occupations, and making them all ripe for it."<sup>8</sup> Such

hopes, the longing for such a different Germany, purged of the disgrace of reaction and of agitating against other nations, alive among the best forces of the German people even in the darkest periods of its history, found their conscious agents in the struggles of the revolutionary German workers movement and found their realization finally, after a long and complicated path, in the creation of our socialist state.

In calling the GDR our socialist fatherland, we refer not only to the objective substance of this struggle the revolutionary vanguard engaged in most resolutely. Rather, we can pick up direct and deliberate utterances by which German proletarian revolutionaries, following Marx, Engels and Lenin, conceived of such a fatherland as a task, as the fruit of the liberation struggle by the workers class and its allies against big capital and militarism, as the resolution of the power problem. Clara Zetkin pointed to the way the workers "have to take to seize their fatherland, turning it from a booty and government domain of the propertied minority into the inheritance of all who produce--the menial and the mental workers. The workers must constitute themselves as the nation by seizing political power and turning into the leading and governing class or, in other words, by establishing their dictatorship."<sup>9</sup> Revealing the chauvinism and anti-communism of the fascists implacably and their especially unscrupulously practiced misuse of the concepts of nation and fatherland, Ernst Thaelmann observed: "Not until we have socialism in Germany, will the poor and suppressed have a fatherland, a fatherland that belongs to us, only then will they have a socialist homeland."<sup>10</sup>

We take a patriotic pride in finding such objectives a reality in our country that marks the lives of millions. The birth and growth of the GDR embody the deepest turn in German history. The preconditions for it did not arise over a brief period, they had been ripening for long. Through many bitter struggles grew and grew stronger, under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, those social forces that, with fraternal support from the Soviet Union and closely tied to the other socialist states, created the first German workers and farmers state and keep moving it ahead today along the tracks of socialism, as part of the socialist community.

#### A Cornerstone of Peace and Socialism in Europe

The German workers class and its revolutionary party as patriotic and, at once, internationalist forces have always contended for the sort of German state that would meet the needs of the time and contribute to the consolidation of the international positions of progress, peace and socialism. The best representatives of the revolutionary German workers movement opposed rigorously, since capitalism started its transition into its imperialist stage, the armaments and aggressive course of German imperialism and militarism, and they joined their struggle against exploitation with that against the eradication of man by man which is rooted in the capitalist profit drive. Thus the best revolutionaries contended for a German state that would see its decisive tasks in securing permanent peace. If our socialist state today acts according to the principle that never again must a war emanate from German soil, then, as a solid component of the socialist community, it implements the legacy of a great tradition in sacrificial and purposeful struggle for peace that was initiated by the revolutionary German workers movement.

"The will of the proletariat is aimed at permanent peace in human dignity,"<sup>11</sup> Karl Liebknecht remarked one year after the Leninist peace decree and only a few days before the KPD was founded. The German communists have always acted in conformity with that maxim, fought undeterred against imperialist aggressors, in indestructible internationalist alliance with the Soviet Union, the first socialist state and the main force for peace in the world--traditions continuing today in the peace policy of the socialist GDR.

History has confirmed the communist were right when they warned against the re-armament of German imperialism that had been beaten in World War I, revealed the threat to peace emanating from fascism and its plans for rapacious war that were threatening mankind, and resolutely assumed militant positions against German nationalistic megalomania and against the anti-Soviet lie about a Soviet threat. Even under the toughest conditions they acted in accordance with the realization that a desire for peace calls for concrete acts, clear-sighted struggle and for the readiness to put up an armed defense of the revolutionary accomplishments in opposition to those from whom the war danger comes.

The German communists never thought that the struggle against imperialist wars and their originators was their own cause exclusively. Especially here they have always been looking for making common cause with social democrats, Christians and other democrats and friends of peace. That was so in the years of the Weimar Republic and during the heavy days of the antifascist resistance struggle. Such cooperation developed regardless of diverse ideological positions and motivations. During World War II the German communists, underground or in exile, spread the idea of a broad peace and freedom alliance to save the German people. These common ideas also between the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class and adherents to peace coming from other social and intellectual persuasions have been channeled into our socialist state's peace policy. They are alive in the incessant endeavors by leading GDR representatives to oppose the dangerous policies mainly of aggressive U.S. imperialism and pave the way for a return to detente.

The consummation of the struggle by the communists and all peace forces cooperating with them, which has been full of sacrifice and has lasted for many decades, is that on the soil of the GDR, for the first time in German history, the ominous cycle between crises and wars that is typical of the capitalist exploiter system could be broken. Precisely in the heart of Europe, where German imperialism instigated two world wars, where the criminal attack on the Soviet Union was planned and started, a stable state has arisen in the GDR, a cornerstone of peace and socialism. That is one of the fundamental marks of the turning point that started with the founding of the GDR on our continent.

Alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the GDR, since its founding, has always actively contributed to making the longest peace period since 1945 in recent history continue. In view of the confrontation policy the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism engage in and the dangers invoked thereby for world peace, the GDR people fights all the more for peace. The steadfast commitment to this important concern of humanity in our time also legitimizes our socialist German state before the history of our people and all European nations. To reinforce that requires deeds for the continued all-round strengthening of socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, SEP/OCT 1984

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 9/10 Sep/Oct 84 (signed to press 17 Aug 84) pp 960, 956-957, 959

[Summary of article by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman, GDR State Council; pp 771-778]

[Text] Our Republic--A State of Peace and Socialism

The founding of the GDR was a turning point in the history of our people and of Europe. In the revolutionary course of its growth the efforts of several generations, members of all classes and strata under Marxist-Leninist working class party leadership, are alive. In the shaping of the developed socialist society the economy is the centerpiece. The main task policy is carried on resolutely with and for man. Our assumption always is that the fraternal community with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is an indispensable basis for our successful development. Acting in unison with them, the GDR is resolutely making its contribution to solving the most important task of our days, averting the danger of a nuclear inferno and reliably and permanently safeguarding peace.

[Summary of article by Willi Stoph, premier and chairman, Council of Ministers; pp 779-784]

[Text] State and Revolution in Our Country

Our party has rigorously and creatively applied the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution to the historic and national givens. What are our experiences in the formation and all-round consolidation of the socialist state? The socialist state is and remains the main tool for further shaping the developed socialist society. Its tasks and functions conform to changing conditions and requirements. The further spread and perfecting of socialist democracy as the major developmental thrust of socialist state power.

[Summary of article by Horst Sindermann, president of the presidium of the People's Chamber; pp 785-791]

[Text] Man and Power in Our Society

Through establishing the workers and farmers power, man, as Marx put it, can turn from once being an "abstract citizen" to becoming a "real man." Power, for centuries a means for an unmitigated enslavement of man, only in socialism becomes an instrument serving the good of the entire people and each individual. Among the accomplishments of the socialist revolution in the GDR is the real democracy that has become the normal course of life; it becomes an impulse for further successful advances by that millions of citizens creatively share in the decision-making and running of public affairs.

[Summary of article by Leonid Konstandov, deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; pp 792-801]

[Text] USSR-GDR: 35 Years of Economic Cooperation

Experiences in cooperation are analyzed in USSR-GDR cooperation and the new impulses furnished by the top level economic conference of the CEMA countries in view of its increasing rate and larger dimensions. Drawing a bow from the inestimable help the USSR gave the young GDR in its tough early years to the intensification tasks as the key point in the cooperation today, a deep insight is provided into the efforts of the USSR-GDR parity government commission for economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs; pp 802-810. A full translation of this article is published in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The Party's Economic Strategy Serves the Further Implementation of the Main Task Course

Improving its use of the potentials in the socialist planned economy, especially since the eighth party congress, the GDR is turned economically into a highly efficient state. Everyone can sense that by the social results. Seeking high labor productivity and efficiency at new measures, economic growth is ensured in the now initiated new phase of the economic strategy, which is imperative for successfully continuing our policy that is aimed at the well-being of the people and at the safeguarding of peace.



[Summary of article by Werner Felfe, SED Central Committee Politburo member and member, Council of State of the GDR; pp 811-817]

[Text] 35 Years of Successful SED Agrarian and Alliance Policy

The results of our agrarian policy are paying off impressively. They attest to the renewed solidity of the working class alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers in enforcing the economic strategy in agriculture and in converting to intensification at a new quality. Through the further development of cooperation relations, in struggling for the highest yields on acres and in stables, the farmers and rural workers help carry on successfully the tried and tested course of our unified economic and social policies.

[Summary of article by Harry Tisch, SED Central Committee Politburo member and member, Council of State of the GDR; chairman, FDGB National Executive Committee; pp 818-824]

[Text] The Task and Status of Our Trade Unions

Led by the party and firmly by its side, the trade unions have a decisive share in the birth and growth of our state. In our embattled times they are working with high commitment for the continued implementation of the proven main task course with its united economic and social policies. They are strengthening our republic through high achievements--impressively attested to by our socialist competition--and are turning the struggle for safeguarding and preserving peace into a precept of trade union interest representation.

[Summary of article by Hermann Axen, SED Central Committee secretary for international relations and member of the People's Chamber; pp 825-832]

[Text] The GDR and the Basic Contradiction of Our Era

GDR development is most closely tied to the course of the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism, is both the outcome and a component of the progressive changes in the international power ratio in favor of the forces of socialism and peace. In its indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the GDR meets its responsibility as a cornerstone of socialism and peace in Central Europe and does what it can to foil the aggressive U.S. and NATO course and help peaceful coexistence break through for good.

[Summary of article by Gen Heinz Hoffmann, Minister for National Defense; pp 833-839]

[Text] We Are Protecting Socialism and Peace

Evolved out of the struggle for safeguarding peace, as a state that, for the first time on German soil, embodies the identity of socialism and peace, the GDR ever since it has existed lets itself be guided in its military policy by seeing to it that war will never again emanate from German soil. Also in the current situation of intensified international tension, the workers and farmers power of the GDR is faithful to that principle when it conforms to the peace-endangering intrigues by the aggressive U.S. circles through the requisite requirements made on its national defense, adequately enough always to be able to ensure the reliable protection of our accomplishments.

[Summary of article by Konrad Naumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and member of the People's Chamber; first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk Management; pp 840-846]

[Text] Berlin--Capital of Socialist Germany

In 35 years, under SED leadership, feats were accomplished in our capital that are virtually incomparable for the nearly 750 years of Berlin history. Under the auspices of the construction of the socialist social order, Berlin has become a symbol of our resolute peace struggle. As a political, economic, scientific and cultural center, the metropolis of the socialist German state impressively reflects the successes in the implementation of the SED's united economic and social policies--especially through the housing construction program.

[Summary of article by Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and Minister for Foreign Affairs; pp 847-853]

[Text] Active and Respected Partner in the International Arena

Today, with mankind living through the most perilous period in postwar developments because imperialist circles, especially those of the United States, pursue a course of confrontation and arms buildup and the FRG and other NATO countries are stationing U.S. first-strike weapons, ensuring peace is the most important issue. In firm alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal states, and as an active co-shaper of our common peace policy, the GDR does what it can so that never again will a war emanate from German soil.

[Summary of article by Prof Kurt Tiedke, rector of the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College; pp 847-853]

[Text] The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine on the Party in the Class Struggle of Our Time

By refuting contentions from professional "Marxologists," the continuity is being demonstrated in the elaboration of this doctrine and its creative further development by Lenin. The consistent and creative implementation of the Marxist-Leninist party doctrine was the decisive condition also in our country for the successful advances of the socialist revolution. As a political leadership force for socialist society, the SED has passed all fitness tests. Implications resulting from the requirements for further improving its leadership quality in our time.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 861-866]

[Text] Creative Implementation of the Marxist-Leninist Alliance Policy

The close working class alliance with the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people as the decisive basis for the GDR's political stability and the important impulse for further advances. About the historic roots of the alliance and experiences in the class struggle. What is creative in the SED's alliance policy? The results, tasks and prospects in the Marxist-Leninist alliance policy in our country.

[Summary of article by Dr Prof Werner Scheler, SED Central Committee member and president, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 867-873]

[Text] Science for the People

From the first steps of the new beginning in the scientific field taken after the night of fascism by the communists, the activists of the first hour, alongside the Soviet comrades, a bow is drawn to the requirements for the present and future. It becomes clear that science, having made its contribution to our state's development, faces the strategic tasks to be coped with in close science cooperation with the socialist states.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, economist, member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 874-880]

[Text] On the Growth of Our National Wealth

It is being demonstrated by facts that with the growth and consolidation of our republic the public wealth has been increased systematically through the diligent and imaginative work of the working people in our country--led by the workers class and its party. Especially on the basis of the main task policy issued by the eighth party congress the material and intellectual national wealth has experienced powerful growth. Through a high rate of growth of the national income the further augmentation and utilization of our national wealth is ensured for the new stage of our economic strategy.

[Summary of article by Wolfgang Junker, member of the SED Central Committee and Minister for Construction Industry; pp 881-887]

[Text] The Housing Construction Program--Centerpiece of Our Party's Social Policy

Especially in housing construction, the centerpiece of our social policy, the united economic and social policies bear rich fruit. Our party has a cohesive and realistic concept for it. It is being coped with through an increasingly more favorable cost/benefit ratio, the further development of the unity of new construction, modernization and maintenance, and our addressing urban downtown construction. It is persuasively expressed by our construction efforts in the territories and the ongoing worthy development of our capital while it also challenges all who work in construction to exploit more deeply still the internal sources for performance growth.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, political scientist, department chief, SED Central Committee; editor in chief of EINHEIT; pp 888-894]

[Text] About Growth and Progress

Production and national income growth as prerequisite for the high standard of living achieved and for securing and consolidating socialism, also attesting to the strength of our steadily developing socialist planned economy. While taking issue with the misrepresentations of socialist theory and practice, the successful conversion to the intensive type of reproduction is being demonstrated, and a dynamic, steady growth is being argued for that is placed at the service of man and the conscious shaping of his social relations and natural environment.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, philosopher, member of the SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 895-900]

[Text] Things Revolutionary in Ordinary Living

How can one tell that the present-day GDR is revolutionary? It is being explained why the shaping of developed socialism is revolutionary in character and socialist intensification proves a revolutionary key process for our further social progress, how broad a field socialism opens up for proving revolutionary action, and that the enforcing of innovations call for a militant commitment in normal living.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karl Heinz Jahnke, philosopher, director of the history department at Rostock University; head of the research team for the history of the youth movement at the history department, Rostock University; pp 901-906]

[Text] A State for Youth

A German state evolved with the founding of the GDR the goals of which fully conform with the vital interests of the young generation. Under SED leadership, each FDJ generation has met the trust placed in it, assumed the responsibility assigned to it and thus made its contribution to the development, consolidation and defense of its socialist fatherland. The National Youth Festival in the GDR's 35th year expressed an impassioned allegiance by the FDJ members to the unity between the young generation, the youth association, the working class party and the socialist state.

[Summary article by Dr. Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of the CC SED and Minister of Culture; pp 907-912. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Culture and Art - Helpers in Shaping our Society

On the basis of our Marxist-Leninist conception of culture, which carries on the traditions of the revolutionary workers class and absorbs the humanistic ideals of the culture of mankind, tasks are discussed that have to be coped with so as to continue in the successful implementation of the goals assigned by the 10th SED Congress. What is to be done to exhaust fully everywhere the rich potentials for injecting culture into ordinary living, to strengthen the ideological efficacy of our cultural and artistic potential, and to deepen further the confident relations between the party, the state, the creators of culture and the artists?



[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, philosopher, member of the SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 914-919]

[Text] The Culture of Human Relations

Change in human relations counts as one of the pervasive historic changes in the life of our people---political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural. The author reflects the degree of these changes from today's perspective and pursues the question how the culture of human relations is to be further nurtured in accordance with current challenges and the rich potentials of our society and could be made still more effective as an impulse for social development.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, philosopher, member CC, deputy director of Institute for Marxism-Leninism under CC SED and chairman of Council for Historiography of the GDR; member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 920-926. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] The Historical Basis of our Fatherland

Our socialist fatherland is rooted in all of German history. As the culmination of all progressive aspirations in German history and of all struggles by generations of German revolutionaries, especially the workers class, everything progressive in the history of our people finds its fulfilment in the GDR, and everything the great masters of culture--of the German language, and important German explorers, discoverers and inventors--produced throughout the centuries of German history is preserved and contained in the new achievements for the strengthening of peace and socialism, pointing our way to the future.

[Summary of article by Georgi Atanasov; pp 927-932]

[Text] Bulgaria: 40 Years of All-round Economic and Social Upswing

Ten decades ago, when the people's democratic power was established, the foundation stone was laid for the most successful period in the history of the Bulgarian people. The results in the revolutionary process under party leadership and the tasks for the country's further development, especially with regard to intensification as set down by the 12th BCP Congress (1981) and the National Party Conference (March 1984). The course toward strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the resolute struggle for consolidating peace in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 933-939]

[Text] Anti-imperialist Solidarity

Anti-imperialist solidarity with the nationally liberated states and the national liberation movements conforms to the nature of the socialist society. In the GDR that is national policy as it also manifests itself in the citizens' concrete achievements and actions. Through solidary ties we assist the struggle by the progressive forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America against any neocolonialist despoliation and imperialist power politics, struggle jointly with them for peace and the peoples' freedom, and provide effective aid to the release and development of their own potentials.

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PRC WANTS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, NOT DEVELOPMENT AID

Bonn DIE WELT in German 11 Oct 84 p 8

[Article by T.W. Krauel: "The 'GDR's' Purposeful Pursuit of Economic Opening with China"]

[Text] The leadership in East Berlin is no longer shy about being caught "eating with chopsticks" by Moscow. Although Beijing sent no representative on the occasion of the "national holiday of the 'GDR'", a congratulatory telegram did appear in the October 8 issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND under the heading "Socialist States". In it Beijing confirmed the "continued improvement of friendly relations in the past few years". This is true. Ignoring the current cooling of relations between Beijing and Moscow, the "GDR" is purposefully pursuing an opening with China which it began more than two years ago, particularly in the area of economics. And in the course of this development Beijing seems in fact to have backed away from advocating German unity.

The crowning touch in this development was the appearance of politburo member Egon Krenz last Monday at the East Berlin reception in recognition of Beijing's national holiday. Previously the SED central committee had recommended "normal relations on mutually acceptable grounds not to be at the expense of any third party"--Beijing's support for Vietnam has not been forgotten.

For the first time in more than 20 years not only did a politburo member participate in this event, but, along with the head of overall security, one of the most powerful men in the politburo; and as a special gesture he was not just a minister with politburo status but rather a true party functionary--if one ignores his seat on the "Staatsrat" (Council of State).

Relations at the party level have been non-existent since the break which took place at the beginning of the 1960's. Even today the party's chief economic planner in East Berlin, Guenter Mittag, central committee secretary, avoids contact with any Chinese guests be they as high ranking as Chen Muhua, a candidate for the politburo and her country's minister of foreign trade, who visited Berlin at the end of September. The "GDR" had not received such an important visitor from China since the building of the wall.

Both sides signed a ten-year economic agreement and also agreed to form a joint economic committee.

Thus, regarding the ambitious aims of the "GDR"--in the words of "GDR" Science Minister Weiz, scientific and technical cooperation will include "nearly all sectors of the national economy"--the same institutional framework exists as was set up this summer between China and all East Bloc nations. The only exception remains the USSR.

Beijing, however, has made its own stipulations. No more "goodwill development aid". They want technology transfer.

Despite some obstacles, this newly won mutual esteem is being demonstrated in small ways. When at the beginning of May Soviet First Deputy Chairman Arkhipov spectacularly cancelled his visit, catching "GDR" Deputy Foreign Minister Krolikowski "in flagranti" so to speak--he happened to be in Beijing at the time--the "GDR" emissary did not even consider returning to East Berlin.

On the contrary. The next day Krolikowski, a member of the SED central committee, met with China's minister of foreign affairs, Wu Xueqian, for a "friendly" discussion followed by a visit largely ignored in the West to the special capitalist economic zone Shenzhen near Hong Kong, a showpiece for Deng Xiaoping's new course. A few days later the "GDR's" Kersten, minister for construction of heavy machinery and equipment, also landed in Beijing.

Beijing was also playing up to its "GDR" trading partners. At the end of June China's minister of posts and telecommunications, Wen Minsheng, avoided an informal meeting with his "GDR" counterpart and interlocutor Schwarz-Schilling in conjunction with the U.N. World Postal Congress in Hamburg. Instead, following the conclusion of the congress, he drove by official staff car directly to East Berlin via the Gudow border crossing as an official state guest.

At the end of September a high-ranking representative of the Beijing Academy of Sciences finally allowed himself to be shown the "national border at the Brandenburg Gate". In view of Western sensitivities, this is the most sensitive point of the protocol that East Berlin has to offer.

Very few visitors from outside the East Bloc have taken advantage of this offer up to now. China opted for a compromise: a scientist, but at the wall, at the Brandenburg Gate, East side.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG INTELLIGENCE USE OF INTER-GERMAN MAIL, TRAVEL ALLEGED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 21 Jun 84) pp 30-35

[Article by Dr Christian Heermann: "The Secret in the Letter from Aunt Emma; Documentary Report by Dr Christian Heermann on Manipulation of the Federal Intelligence Service of the FRG in Snooping"]

[Text] It is hard to believe: But there really is a post office with the name of Huehnerposten. And it lies only about 300 meters south of the main railroad station in Hamburg.

As one might perhaps suspect, what goes on in this red-brick building has nothing to do with receiving or dispatching letters or packages for poultry farmers. If any symbolic meaning can be ascribed to the name, then it is only because the mail sorters have to be at their jobs earlier than elsewhere and so they have to get up with the chickens. Each day, punctually at 7:15 am, an orange VW Passat drives up.

Minutes later bulging jute sacks are loaded into the station wagon, which heads towards its destination 15 minutes away and parks in front of a comfortable middle-class villa. The freight disappears behind a door bearing a sign "Data Collection" and is returned 8 hours later to Huehnerposten.

The same procedure, each day at the same time, takes place in Hof between the post office in the Bahnhofstrasse and a building in the Ossekestrasse. The plate on the door states that a "Test Office V/3" is located here. Similar events can be reported from Braunschweig, Bebra, Nuernberg, Munich and other cities of the Federal Intelligence Service. A few differences do exist in the signs on the doors of the "partners" of the Bundespost.

"Headquarters for Central Data Processing" it says, or "Acquisition Office for Basic Data," or again "Federal Estate Administration/Private Estates" or "Office for the Study of International Affairs." Whatever is on them--they are all branches of the Federal Intelligence Service (BND), the most important and powerful branch of the FRG's secret services with headquarters in Munich-Pullach. These field offices monitor postal traffic between the FRG and the socialist states. Letters are secretly opened, read, sometimes photocopied and then returned to the Bundespost; the sender and the addressee are



entered on a list. The "evaluation" takes place at head office in Pullach. The snooping is concentrated in cities with so-called zip code offices. In Bebra, Braunschweig, Hamburg and Hof, for example, mail arriving from the GDR is examined. The central post office in Nuernberg is responsible for mailings from the CSSR, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Letters from the USSR are "treated" in Frankfurt/Main.

#### Almost Everything Is Interesting

The Hamburg magazine STERN reported in November 1978 that "not only the mail is examined": "Anyone who makes a telephone call to the East or is called from there can be fairly certain--the BND is listening as well. The agents of the secret service have installed their phone taps in the Bundespost exchanges. The "negroes" (official slang) are 40-cm-long boxes full of electronics, which allow the listeners to tap into any conversation. There are direct connections from the long-distance offices to the monitoring centers of the BND. Monitoring experts sit and monitor four conversations at once. Everything that seems interesting is recorded on cassettes. And almost everything is interesting to the people in Pullach."

Letters or telephone calls--the practice of monitoring is all-embracing, it covers broad areas, it is a matter of routine; in BND slang it is called "strategic control." Scarcely anything has changed about the methods since 1978. Possibly a decision has been made in the meantime whether letters can be rolled up better with a wooden or an ivory stick; the opinion of the "experts" was still divided on that question at the time. Probably the largest proportion of the mail is now read with an X-ray machine. The BND had "promising experiences" in 1978 with this "new technology." In any case, the eavesdroppers of the BND still have a difficult job. According to STERN recently, they "are listening in on four different telephone conversations at once" as they did before. . . 'It's the hardest kind of work, there's so much rubbish,' recounts a former compiler. At certain trigger words the compilers react like robots and press the recording button."

They can do that as often as they like and free from worry; the audible, suspicious click in the connection that could occasionally be heard by those at each end of the line is not a problem, since the Bundespost switched to EWS. The initials stand for a new "electronic dialing system" which makes for a quicker completion of the desired connection and also makes a wireless "tap" possible for those listening in. Additional soldered connections or relays are no longer needed. "There is no physical process by which it can be determined whether a long distance connection is being monitored or not," explains Robert T. Schwarz of the U.S. Northeast Telephone Company.

These eavesdroppers actions by the BND, which give the lie to the basic rule of freedom and democracy so much praised by the rulers and trample on it, are coordinated by special departments with cover names. The "Federal Office for Long Distance Telephone Statistics", with branches in Braunschweig and Munich and the "Central Coding Office" in Bonn-Bad Godesberg are in charge.

## Lies about a Threat and Old Wives' Tales

If one looks at the constitution, particularly article 10, which guarantees privacy of mail and telephone communication, the BND's activities appear to be illegal. But that applies only to the first glance, because the law G-10--part of the so-called "emergency laws" of 1968--states that breaking the constitution is a legal act. Paragraph 3 lays down in detail that even "without reasonable suspicion" letters can be opened and telephone conversations can be listened to, because it involves the "collection of information about facts, knowledge of which is necessary for timely identification of the danger of an armed attack on the FRG and for countering such a danger"!!

Whenever citizens of the FRG objected to the snooping in letters and telephone calls or went to court, they were told that everything was legal, based on that paragraph. And those were the big lies: In addition to the well known lie about a threat there was added the old wives' tale--whether anyone believed the "danger of an armed attack on the FRG" or not--an "imminent threat" could be detected "in time" by mail and telephone snooping. Perhaps from a letter from aunt Emma in Rostock to uncle Hugo in Cologne or from a telephone conversation between a visitor to the Leipzig fair and his wife who stayed in Ulm.

The reasons for monitoring letters and long-distance telephone calls by the BND have to be sought in other areas. They are easy to detect if we follow the information collected on its further path.

The BND is officially responsible for espionage and subversive actions only abroad. Any information coming from outside the FRG immediately falls within its official jurisdiction. It is all under perfect bureaucratic control.

For each photocopied letter or transcription of a recorded telephone call there is a supplementary sheet with the date and other data--and with a reference to the law G-10, often with a green stamp "German Services Know of This." This means that the information was passed on either to military counterintelligence (MAD) or the intelligence service, the two branches of the secret service which are also involved in monitoring members of the Bundeswehr or civilians. As STERN formulated it, they are reports denouncing "citizens whom they consider to be dubious propositions."

Initially, there are two possibilities for the "cases" that remain in Pullach. Either they go to the personnel area file, where they remain as a "silent reserve," which can still be called upon if necessary; no drawbacks ensue immediately for the citizen involved. Or, and this is the more dangerous path for those affected, the initially small dossier finds its way to the SPE. The three letters stand for "Project-Related Personal Intelligence for Tip Acquisition and Recruitment." A STERN reporter summarizes: "Decoded it means: the BND filters from letters and telephone calls references to citizens who could be interesting or susceptible to recruitment as an informant--both in the GDR and the FRG." The trap is set, and anyone who does not find the strength to give a definite no and allows himself to be enmeshed in the toils of the BND, follows the path that most often in personal tragedy.

STERN, the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU and other major middle-class newspapers in the FRG have been publishing numerous reports for years about the practices of the BND. In these reports they have briefly revealed the monster to the citizens of the FRG and occasionally also let out a few "internal memos" from Pullach, without risking any reprisals from the secret service or elsewhere, at least not as a rule.

What reasons are there for such "good behavior" towards press reports?

Those reports have two sides, and the invisible back side is clearly more important than the front side. When they accept the assignment and write their reports, many journalists may be primarily deluding themselves that they can strike a blow against the dubious activity "on the borderline of legality," as it is then described in such wonderfully vague terms. And there are some readers who possibly believe that some criticism is actually being leveled at those in Pullach.

The sensational stories with the supposedly explosive theme are deepdown frequently more welcome than displeasing to various groups. By permanent repetition the citizens of the FRG are supposed to be led to believe: The BND and the other branches of the secret service are omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent! Whatever they serve up, even if it has been concocted by the stupidest liars, has to be true!

Horror Commentaries from Pullach

Perhaps what an official "Special Report by the BND on Environmental Pollution by the 'GDR'" from February 1983 contained?

"Recently reports from the 'GDR' have been accumulating concerning deaths related to the environment, particularly among children and old people. Those who are in particular danger are therefore sent several times each year to recuperate in environmentally clean regions." But no one was permitted to leave "heavily polluted areas" permanently. "A ban on relocation" had been "imposed" on citizens in these areas. There were "premiums and . . . certain foods, such as milk, fresh vegetables and fruit" being offered as a small compensation"! This can be read in Springer's WELT AM SONNTAG of 27 February 1983, which claims Pullach as its source.

Is this 1983? Yes, really--the date is correct! Although this kind of all too transparent smear propaganda is reminiscent of the peak times of the Cold War 13 years ago. Today most of the mass media in the FRG and West Berlin behave "factually" and "objectively," and get off their little jabs or major bombardments against true socialism in a skilfully packaged form. But crude attacks also break through constantly. This happens mostly when the BND, as the supplier of the material, controls the manipulation--either by means of official special reports or specifically promoted secret reports or just with vague references to a line to Pullach: for example, by means of the sporadically revealed reports that the BND regularly compiles "mosaics of the situation" on the basis of monitoring the mails and the telephone. It is

thereby suggested that what is subsequently reported about the GDR has to be believed.

This was how some of the more recent horror commentaries from Pullach sounded, which were intended to make honest citizens of the FRG cringe with fear: A VEB had switched its production to nerve gas. "There are indications," stated the BERLINER MORGENPOST on 3 July 1983, "that the 'GDR' also has napalm bombs in its program." Some of the bombs are being "exported to Africa"! And there, DIE WELT claimed to have discovered in advance, in conjunction with the BND, there was a "GDR Afrika-Korps." It was "30,000 men strong" and these "GDR forces" were operating "in eight countries." But not only with napalm bombs, as "prison guards" as well.

There was another report that in Karl-Marx-Stadt there was no writing paper and no calenders. Anyone complaining was put in jail.

A STERN reporter wrote that the "BND compilers" could "read up on this kind of 'report on morale' in any daily newspaper"--the detailed ones concerning writing paper and calenders or the thick tomes which are supposed to poison the international situation; there was no need to open letters or listen in on telephone conversations. That was certainly true.

The "mood" against the GDR is not manipulated just in Pullach; several other springs from this swamp exist. The mail and telephone snooping, as we have seen, is only blended in at the mixing console in these press campaigns in order to underscore the antisocialist discord with a deceptive sound of factuality. The BND uses more productive sources to sharpen its "image of the GDR enemy" and to prepare subversive actions. This includes activities which are laid out in "Special Instructions on Acquiring Specific Information during Border Police Checks (GK)," issued on 6 May 1975 by the FRG's Ministry of the Interior. This is a secret document about the activities of the Bundesgrenzschutz acting on orders from the BND.

After April 1979 a great deal became known about the content and practice of this activity, for example, the photographing of the identification papers of travelers between the FRG and socialist states. What was involved, the document stated, was "information about the make up of documents from Warsaw Pact nations" and "Eastern bloc stamps" in FRG passports. Part of the truth was accurately described: Anyone wanting to dispatch "procurers" and spies abroad for covert operations, requires knowledge of the current originals in order to manufacture false passports.

#### The Long and the Short of It

The entire affair had far greater implications; it turned out to be a broad-based program for surveillance and for military and economic espionage. Citizens from the GDR, the FRG and other countries were "sounded out," as BND slang puts it, "with tricks and treachery," as even STERN describes it, about installations of the NPA and the Soviet army, "movements of military units," individual formations, vehicles, equipment, traffic routes, manufacturing plants, commercial institutions and a thousand other things. About



2,000 officials of the "Border Police Special Service" (GSE), a special division of the Border Police, carried out these services for the secret service.

As was announced in April 1984, a new regulation with "expanded rights to question" is being prepared. Its provisions include bringing the FRG's customs branch fully into subsidiary work for the secret service.

Responsible offices in the GDR pointed out years ago the burdensome effect on travel resulting from this snooping, which is also a violation of international agreements, for example, the Helsinki Accords and their decrees on trust-promoting measures. But there are also not a few citizens of the FRG expressing at least unease about the questionings. STERN also uttered critical words about these "dubious tendencies," but then it was this very Hamburg magazine which set out to show its readers how "useful" this type of "sounding out" at the border transit points can be. "Radar surveillance on the transit routes between Berlin and the FRG is becoming ever more perfect," stated a headline in No 52/1982, and there followed a list of about 100 sites on our autobahns where speed checks had been carried out. Each individual East German "radar trap" was described in detail and in addition entered on a general map. Even the number of vehicles used by the Volkspolizei was given. STERN reporters claimed to have assembled this mass of details themselves! The background of reports about the FIS made it very easy to guess the source of this concentrated charge of information.

One could derive a positive aspect from an article of this kind, whatever its source, if the whole thing were an appeal to travelers from the BRD to observe our traffic regulations strictly. But that is far from the case. Apart from two dry references to the 100 km/hour speed limit and the banning of alcohol, there are lengthy explanations of where and how these "highwaymen in uniform hide" and what FRG drivers with the "big luxury cars" should watch out for to escape speed checks with their "increasingly subtle methods." A few lies were added, so that all this could be fired off as a compact inflammatory charge. For example, Anyone not wearing a seat belt even when parking in a rest area had to pay a fine! As any driver knows, the compulsory seat belt law is not in effect during slow-speed driving and while reversing.

#### The Same Target Again

Only a few days after the dubious STERN report, the BERLINER MORGENPOST took aim at the same target. "More tricks in transit traffic," read the edition of 11 January 1983, serving up lying tales about purported events on the autobahn to Helmstedt: "Vopos" had "waved drivers over onto the shoulder to question them about their equipment. They required fire extinguishers to be shown," it was claimed. The the "Vopos" had "insisted on 'GDR' regulations which require that drivers over there also have to carry a fire extinguisher in the car"--and naturally had collected hefty fines. It is common knowledge that no requirement concerning the carrying of fire extinguishers has existed for years, but even such a crude ploy has to serve for purposes of agitation.

We have selected a few examples from thousands out the repertoire of manipulated inflammatory propaganda directed against the GDR recently. Much of it



might seem to be the product of a morbid imagination, but there is a system to all of it. Despite objective relationships between the GDR and the FRG in numerous areas, there exist in the country to the west of our national border influential forces which are dedicated to the fight against socialism. The BND, bound to fascist traditions as it is, is among them. Its actions are directed primarily toward espionage and subversion against our state. But it also wants to form the image of the GDR of citizens in the FRG with its distorted presentations, not least with the intent that it will spread beyond the borders of the FRG: Something, they hoped, will "stick." The collaboration between the BND and the press plays no small part, even if this can often only be seen after a second look.

The prospects for the success of such enterprises have shrunk steadily in recent years, but they have remained a possibility. This is reason enough to bring light to bear on such states of affairs, in order to condemn their intentions to failure.

9581

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EAST BERLIN FEELING THREATENED BY SATELLITE TV

East Berlin SINN UND FORM in German Vol 36 No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 924-952

[Article by Prof Dr R. Weimann, first vice president of the Academy of the Arts of the GDR: "Reality and Realism: The Challenge of the Media"]

[Excerpt] Mass media communication processes have a signal role in the homogenization and differentiation of cultural activities. In the light of these, the problem of realism assumes a very different nature from that of even 10 years ago, both here at home and at international level. At the same time we must deal with the larger fact that many questions require answers in the conditions of mass media art--questions among which the problems involved in the relation between technology and humanity deserve particular attention. We must at last accept the challenge which looms larger than life on our doorstep if not already in the framework of our own media perspective. The classical-romantic concept of art fails us completely; the walls formerly separating superior from inferior art suddenly turn porous and, at this point at the very latest, a purely esthetic perception of realism appears unsatisfactory. Once again we recall Bertolt Brecht's suggestion: "Realism in art is too often considered purely a matter for art...It is much better for (the artist) to look at realism as used in other arts than his own and, moreover, in non-artistic affairs, such as politics, philosophy, the sciences and daily life." The far-sighted author of the radio doctrine thereby anticipated the latest and border crossing principles of post-modern esthetics. On the other hand he illustrated this sentence by examples from the past, pointing to Francis Bacon's experience and industrial philosophy, according to which a "realistic approach" is deemed one "which studies driving forces, a realistic procedure one which sets the driving forces in motion." Brecht somewhat naively quotes the philosophical ancestor of modern technology, without sensing that it may be quite unrealistic in our age always and everywhere to set "the driving forces in motion." Of course the limits of a concept of realism related to Bacon's philosophy are much more evident now than they were in 1940 (the year Brecht made the remark cited) or in the days of Walter Benjamin who was still able to unreservedly incorporate the technology of the new film media in the perception of the advance of culture, dating from the age of enlightenment. Still, we are bound now to cast a critical eye at the hope he then expressed, and according to which every duplicable growth in mass media communications signified growth of the realistic influence of art for the benefit of democracy.

Attempting to provide a somewhat more sober survey of the outlook for and potential consequences of the electronic communications explosion, I continue on from the contributions by Kurt Maetzig and Ernst Schumacher who presented these at our Council for Science and the joint conference of the presidia of the Academy of the Arts and the Academy of Sciences, and also the very lively echo provided by Academy President Scheler and philosopher Herbert Hoerz.

By now we have available ample and reliable data, according to which UNESCO ascertained that the expectations of viewers in Bulgaria and Belgium, in Hungary and France, in large and small countries, in socialism and capitalism, differ far less than would appear from the in fact very different programming by the media. We are bound to sit up and take notice when these statistics plainly reveal that television is everywhere expected to deliver about 70 percent light entertainment, 21 percent information and only 0.5 percent art and education. Of course we have cause for complaint about the inconsistency of the categories, the inadequate system of distinction between "superior" art and "inferior" entertainment. However, a more comprehensive conception of art and appropriation will not level the differences in standards; on the contrary, it will give greater historic profundity to the issue of value. Still, just this realistic view of the relationship between material sustenance and intellectual entertainment will not be able in future to thus separate "difficult" art and "light" entertainment.

And yet, that is one aspect only. With and in addition to it, some persistent questions arise on media reality and media prospects, which need to be conceived anew against the worldwide background of the unfree flow of information and the onesided direction of communications. The per se necessary and welcome internationalization of electronic communications is, after all, proceeding in the sign of the expropriation of national and potential democratic production subject matter for the benefit of that billion dollar business that allowed the Western--and above all North American--communications industry to become the fourth largest international industry. To clearly show the enormity of the disproportions involved, let me just mention that in this field 1,000 North American exports to the Third World (in other words 1,000 exported television shows, films, cassettes, and so on) are countered by only one single import from that region; that in the entertainment sector even the GDR beams 58 percent Western imports, the Soviet Union 68 percent and Hungary as much as 98 percent. In our present conditions, this disproportion may still be somewhat compensated by the integral placement of domestic sources of information. But what will happen when technological progress results in even greater Western advances in the communications industry? When, via satellites and with the aid of digital systems and video cassettes, the average consumer is left at the mercy of a media-imperialist supply, replacing the very last bit of realism by its sensational opposite? A supply that fosters intellectual immaturity instead of realistic ideology as the outcome of the new technology?

The new technology will not stop at our borders. In future it will offer the individual an increasing and ultimately unlimited self-determination

in the choice and availability of sources of entertainment. In the present circumstances, will this technological progress really represent an advance for humanity? Or will it lead all the more totally to the refined living lie in the manner of "Dallas" (not to mention current violence and future pornography), the more completely this need for entertainment is appropriated and exploited by private enterprise in only one country? We are bound to listen to the warning issued by a French Government member, Minister Jack Lang, who objected to "this financial and intellectual imperialism" which, in this case, seeks to obtain not natural resources and factories but "the consciences, minds and lifestyle" of the peoples of this earth.

The political economics of this consciousness industry has its own laws. We must appreciate that the seller of information and entertainment never loses his merchandise; instead he gets back an intensified purchaser interest that thwarts the real (realistic) perception of our own world for the sake of alien communication topics! Let us, moreover, consider the inestimable fact that the entertainment industry is able not only to mirror society but to create social realities, and we will be hard put to it to overestimate the extent to which gestures, fashions, attitudes, expectations, memories and ideals are sent out all over the world by way of the mass media. Mass consciousness may thereby be stimulated but also usurped. Looking at these prospects, we must acknowledge that it is impossible to exclude a potential Orwellian future, in the course of which the collective memory of mankind becomes the private property of the monopolies.

This nightmare can be avoided only by the prompt organization of offensive resistance. That is exactly where realism can and must make its contribution: World appropriating realism as the most comprehensive, most resolute and demonstrably best alternative to the world expropriating exploiter principle of the capitalist media industry. No barrier to news is of any help against entertainment-political transactions; no ascetism with respect to our own sensuality is of any help against the excessive titillation of the senses; the only help against the most artful type of manipulation is the superior renunciation of manipulation altogether. Effective against permanent interference in the cultural receptivity of all classes and strata is only the positive and critical processing of our own and alien experiences. Let me say it again: No partial, belated or merely didactic response is of any use against this interference; effective alone is a superior and realistic view of the complex entirety of the actual social and experiential relationship. From this aspect, too, a realistic world perception is indispensable. This recourse to realism is more crucial than ever, precisely in the mass media prospects and conditions of the 1980's: The realistic appropriation of the world in entertaining art (and the appropriation of this art in our own world) counter the expropriation of the consciousness of the interconnection of this world and this art, counter the alienation of the realistic interconnection between esthetic entertainment and social sustenance.

In this meaning we are concerned with a realism that combines sustenance and entertainment, seriousness and joy of living, the practical arts and the esthetic arts shaping life come together at that junction where seriousness

and entertainment enter a new relationship (to be newly defined by us). Such a realism in the struggles of this age means setting realism against ideological convergence, against the plastering over of threats and contradictions; realism against national sell-out and the loss of cultural identity; realism against the loss of human dignity, against the separation of sex from heart, head and liver; realism against the manipulation of consciousness and the exploitation of instincts, against emptying of our leisure; realism against forgetfulness of the past. Admittedly that is a very extensive, possibly much too extensive program, and it raises major unanswered questions (possibly unanswerable at this time). But it does stir up questions that, I am sure, are necessary and urgent, questions that make of realism (including the socialist advance guard), also and among others, an esthetic of resistance.

Since the Council for Science of our Academy, in cooperation with the chair for the theory of fine art at Humboldt University, first drew attention to these new circumstances in the reciprocal ensemble of artistic effects, nobody here can doubt that we are confronting a new and internationally significant field of merciless conflict. It is a field where the socialist realism effect of all arts is urgently needed; a field in which the strength of our own historic-realist conception of culture must hold its own beyond all classical-romantic borders. That also requires strategic thinking. Free trade liberalism in the international communications business has long failed; the stale doctrine of the free flow of information has merely resulted in the unification of unfree cultural nations, specially in the Third World. We do not intend to sell our freedom and our dignity, however high the price. The German working class was compelled to accept defeats; its core has never been corrupted. Its cultural strategy is less than ever able to renounce the generous, flexible, long-range and positive conception of art (tried and tested since the Eighth SED Congress). Realism and real humanism have not rusted in the well established alliance between working class and artists: They are the cornerstones of a new forward orientation. At the same time they are not immovable, and we must not, therefore, misinterpret the image of the "cornerstone" as a metaphor of consistency, as if these cornerstones would have to withstand a torrent of change. The opposite is true, and only the image of realism itself as an enthusiastic movement really fits: Realistic art is able to effectively advance only at the time it comes to resemble that "living flow" which never can nor does stand still.

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IN SEARCH OF LEGITIMACY: SED'S HEROIC FAMILY TREE

Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by H.-R. Karutz: "SED Names the 'Best Sons and Daughters of the German People'"]

[Text] A few days before the 35th anniversary, the SED leaders are renewing and emphasizing the GDR's claim to represent the perfection and climax of German national history. Introduced by a quotation from Erich Honecker regarding the "best sons and daughters of the German people," the FDJ paper JUNGE WELT has just published a "family tree" giving the names and portraits of 102 specially distinguished Germans. Though it fails to list the officially rehabilitated Otto von Bismarck and Frederick the Great, Graf von Stauffenberg and Walther Rathenau, among others, have definitely been acknowledged part of the GDR's heritage.

Below the heading "GDR 35", the gallery of famous names and portraits occupies a complete inside page of the newspaper, run by former FDJ chief and designated Honecker successor Egon Krenz. The list also shows that East Berlin is speeding up its efforts to lay claim to the heights and depths of German history as a whole, a claim more or less abandoned by the Federal Republic for political reasons.

As far back as the 1950's, the heroes of the war of liberation were rediscovered for the sake of ideology. This was accompanied by the return to traditional German military uniforms by the People's Army, now followed by the entire historico-political superstructure designed to define the GDR as the real Germany. The family tree is based on Honecker's 1982 statement of principle: "Regardless of their social or class ties, the efforts and the legacy of all those who contributed to progress, to the development of world civilization, are part and parcel of the progressive traditions we nurture and pursue."

After the GDR's Luther Year (1983) that far overshadowed the simultaneous Karl Marx celebrations, it is not surprising that the row of portraits shows the Reformer immediately after Johann Gutenberg. Exactly in the meaning of Honecker's remark on German history ("We originate from it, are in it and carry it on"), Luther is now claimed without any reservations.

In early 1984, the two senior East Berlin historians--Horst Bartel and Walter Schmidt--unhesitatingly included him in the "traditional image of

the socialist society of our country." A "considered Marxist view," they said at the time, could not even be tarnished by Luther's rejection of the rebellious peasants.

Evidently with the approval of the SED Central Committee, the FDJ paper next pictures the peasant leader Thomas Muentzer as the counterpart to Luther. Already anniversary celebrations are being prepared for him in 1989/1990--and no less extensively than for Luther. The first preparations for the establishment of a Thomas Muentzer Committee are currently under way in East Berlin.

Shortly before the extensive celebrations of Johann Sebastian Bach's 300th birthday in 1985, his portrait in the list of intellectual-musical GDR founding fathers comes as no surprise. However, Heinrich Schuetz and Georg Friedrich Haendel will also receive much official homage in anniversary celebrations, and their absence from the list is therefore surprising.

Goethe is on the list--framed by Kant and Johann Georg Forster, an obscure Jacobin. The poet has been deprived of his noble prefix "von." The GDR discovered him in the very year of its establishment (1948), which coincided with Goethe's 200th birthday. In the meantime his official worship assumed new heights this year, when the SED organ EINHEIT printed an article by Prof Walter Wimmer, vice-department manager at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the SED CC. Wimmer summed up the situation as follows: "A German state fulfilling the longing for a better future felt by many generations, was bound to give real shape and force to Goethe's vision of a free people on free soil..."

The absence of Bismarck--his first authorized GDR biography is set to be published in 1985--and of Frederick II seems to be due to their still fluctuating image in East Berlin historiography. Kurt Hager, in charge of SED cultural policy, delivered a positive judgement on the founder of the Reich in his address of December 1983. Although not in line for "praise in our writing of history" by reason of his antisocialist legislation, the cultural struggle and the "policy of Germanization," he had in his favor his sober calculation of relations with Russia and his emphatic rejection of preventive war. In the issue of EINHEIT mentioned before (February 1984), we even read the admission that the establishment of the German national state in 1871 had helped "the bourgeois breakthrough in a Junker-like manner."

Frederick the Great's portrait--the only one of a monarch--would obviously have been out of place in a GDR family tree as published by the JUNGE WELT. His long out-of-print biography by Ingrid Mittenzwei and the restoration of his monument to Unter den Linden did nothing to amend the recent total assessment of the Hohenzollern king by the Bartel/Schmidt pair of authors, mentioned earlier. They brand him as the "champion of late-feudal and absolutist policy in the interest of the reactionary nobility."

The rediscovery of former Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau as an example of good German traditions is due to a remark by Kurt Hager at the earlier cited Conference on Social Sciences of the SED CC in December 1983. At

that time the Weimar democrat, murdered by right extremists, was mentioned by Hager in the same breath as Bismarck, Graf von Stauffenberg and Yorck von Wartenburg. While Rathenau is presented to the readers as a "monopoly master," he is evidently credited for his crucial role in the achievement of the Rapallo Treaty with the Soviet Union."

Counted among the surprises of the list of prominent GDR politicians must be the definite solidification of the renown of GDR founding father Walter Ulbricht. Treated as a total nonperson by the media for almost 10 years since his death in 1973, Erich Honecker's predecessor was restored to full honors in 1983, on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth. The SED owned Dietz Verlag published an Ulbricht biography.

The JUNGE WELT adds CDU representative Otto Nuschke to the most important personages of GDR history. Nuschke was a speaker at the last all-German Protestant Church Conference, held in Leipzig in 1952.

Poet and former Culture Minister Johannes R. Becker also was included in the family tree, though his hymn "Arise from the Ruins" and containing the line "let us serve you for the good, Germany, our united fatherland" has been banned from sung performance, and only the music may be played.

Among the topical heroes of GDR historiography is first of all cosmonaut Siegmund Jaehn ("the first German in space") and Corporal Egon Schultz, killed in an exchange of fire with helpers of escapees in 1964 at the Berlin sector border.

We will soon see how far the SED is prepared to add the blue blood of German princes to the GDR pantheon to find its own identity in a national history and a way out of the need for legitimacy: 17 August 1986 is the 200th anniversary of Frederick the Great's death. How East Berlin will commemorate this date will tell us about the SED's expeditions into the history of the Germans.

#### Missing Names in the SED List

The "family tree" in the FDJ newspaper JUNGE WELT suggest the compilation of a counter list of eminent Germans who obviously do not qualify for the official favor of the party. The incomplete list is intended only to show which names in German history have--at least until now--failed to meet SED criteria for the "best sons and daughter of the German people":

Albrecht Duerer, Paul Gerhardt, Walther von der Vogelweide, Georg von Knobelsdorff, Peter Josef Lenne, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Caspar David Friedrich, Joseph von Eichendorff, Richard Wagner, der Grosse Kurfuerst, Karl von Clausewitz, Adolf Menzel, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Karl von Hardenberg, Heinrich von Kleist, Leopold von Ranke, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Julius Leber, Georg Buechner, Freiherr vom Stein, Theodor Fontane, Gerhart Hauptmann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Schopenhauer, Ernst Moritz Arndt, Lucas Cranach, Carl Zuckmayer, Theodor Storm, Marschall Bluecher.

OVERVIEW OF MILITARY OFFICER TRAINING

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 22 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview with Major General Gyorgy Paal, commander of Mate Zalka Military Technical College: "In the Service of Socialist Officer Training"]

[Text] Soon it will be 35 years that, as a result of historically significant social changes and the recommendation of the party, conditions for training socialist military officers became possible. In a uniquely difficult political climate, foreign as well as domestic, the establishments that were to provide organized instructions to future military career officers had come into existence in a relatively short period of time. To discuss the formative conditions, experiences, lessons and the value of acquired traditions of this great achievement, the assistant editor of our newspaper, Ferenc Grof, requested an interview with Major General Gyorgy Paal, commander of the Mate Zalka Military Technical College.

[Question] With what tasks, goals and demands was the training of socialist military officers initiated 35 years ago?

[Answer] After the liberation, the basic training of career officers in the fresh-spirited, democratic army could take place only after 1947. The peace treaty guaranteed the Hungarian state and gave it the right to organize a limited peace army. The Hungarian Communist Party (MKP) fought unceasingly for the army to become imbued with a democratic spirit and for its leadership to become under a people's officers corps.

To achieve this goal--or rather, to realize the military-political ideas of the MKP--it was enough, along with other conditions, that during the power-sharing of the post-war coalition government the Smallholders' Party lose its defense portfolio. At this time the MKP entrusted its best military experts with the task of creating an officers training program with a socialist character. Under the leadership of the party, the Defense Ministry in June of 1947 began a plan of forming a workers-peasants officers

corps. The implementation of this plan was already in effect by the fall of that year.

To provide basic training for future career officers and to further train officers already commissioned. Kossuth Defense Academy was opened on 1 Oct, 1947. The Quartermaster Corps Academy was opened at the end of that year, and Petofi Military Officers Training Academy in September of 1948.

During the summer of 1948, the MKP became the sole possessor of power and, consequently, the defense ministry portfolio fell into its hands. This made it possible to increase the number of officers who assumed responsibility for defending the power of the proletariat and who espoused socialist ideas.

To achieve this monumental task, neither the Kossuth Academy nor field officer and command subdivision courses were sufficient. Therefore, in 1949, officers' schools for the military branches were created. Today's military colleges are the successors of these schools.

In order to realize future plans, starting with the school year of 1949/50, there gradually developed a new established order which included a network of officers' political schools, military branch officers' schools and military supply service schools. The newly created system was completely unprecedented in the annals of Hungarian military history.

These educational establishments provided training and preparation for officers loyal to the culture of the proletariat. The majority of these officers came from workers and peasant families. As a result of the educational activities of these establishments, the make up of the officers corps underwent significant change within a short period. As compared to 5.5 percent in 1949, the percent of generals and officers of working class and peasant background had already risen to 80 by 1951.

Naturally, this network of decentralized officers schools existed only until every one of its member schools completed its function. With their consolidation, their number became progressively smaller even before 1957.

It must be admitted that the rapid development of the armed forces and the accelerated training process for the masses did not result only in positive consequences. In the absence of certain conditions, it was only minimally possible to train students in general culture, in technical know-how and the ability to command.

Needs were primarily focused on the area of technical competence. With increasing competence and awareness of their mission, the overwhelming majority of officers graduating from various military branch schools--in accordance with the requirements of that era--complied honorably with the expectations required of them. Naturally, over the course of a number of years, their theoretical knowledge increased. They acquired a variety of command and leadership experiences. They became strengthened in the struggle against



the counterrevolution and in the struggle for consolidation. It is no secret that most of today's upper and middle military leadership are those experienced officers who started their careers at the end of the '40s and the beginning of the '50s.

[Question] How did the development of society influence the training of officers, and what were the main characteristics of this process?

[Answer] The development of the armed forces and the training of officers were influenced in a novel manner by the coming to power of the working class and the changes that took place in the '40s and '50s. The forces of production began to grow and the transformation of ownership and class relationships became crystallized.

After Churchill's Fulton speech, the cold war became intensified and international relations started to deteriorate. All these events made new demands on the armed forces as well. The essence of these demands was that until 1953 there was to be a large scale quantitative and a smaller scale qualitative, technical growth. This era was a heroic period in the training of socialist military officers. The students at the officers' schools were characterized by solid political commitment to the power of the working class and any training deficiency was more than made up for by their enthusiasm and their faith in a lofty mission.

The distortions that arose during the course of building socialism did not pass by without leaving their marks on the armed forces and on the training of officers.

After the defeat of the counterrevolution, the most important task was to realize political consolidation, to restore a smoothly running economy, to create correct proportionality in the national economy and to finish establishing the foundations of socialism. In compliance with these tasks, the Unified Officers School was established in 1957. In order to keep up with rapid developments in military technology and armament, and to fulfill qualitative expectations, the training period of officers was raised to four years and, starting in the early '60s, a high school diploma was made a requirement for applicants. At the same time, from then on, students at the completion of their training also became recipients of technical diplomas or single subject elementary school teacher diplomas.

The rapid development of the forces of production, establishing the foundation of socialism and acquiring a socialist basis in the relations of production, the rapid development of the scientific and technological revolutions and catching up with the standards of the Warsaw Pact armed forces further delineated the qualitative demands on the training of officers.

The creation of military colleges signalled a new phase in the training of officers. This took place in 1967 on the basis of Ordinance No 13 of the Presidential Council. In conjunction with the military requirements, the colleges also offered, and are still offering, degrees in production

engineering and business administration, equivalent to those in civilian higher education.

Newly initiated modifications in instruction signalled yet another advance in 1981. Taking into consideration the needs of social development, the progress made by the various branches of science and military technology, the main objective of these instructional modifications was to create a higher level of educational integration and thereby making the educational system more effective.

[Question] What are the more important experiences and lessons of the training of officers in the military branches, and can the traditions of this training process be useful today?

[Answer] The activities of the officers training schools of the various military branches, which were organized at the end of 1949, reflected the political and social tenor of that time. The command and teaching staff of the officers' training schools came primarily from the officers and graduates of the Kossuth Academy which was just closing down. These officers, who were the first teachers at the officers schools, proved their loyalty to the people and to their professional calling by hard work. The educational task ahead of them could only have been completed with great diligence, perseverance and a willingness to self-sacrifice. If I can demonstrate: The instructors had to learn the content of the daily lessons with their students, but with such exactness as to be able to transmit them to their students. All this was accomplished with only a little knowledge of methodology, pedagogy, and let us admit it, with little factual knowledge. There were many officers who, after graduating, stayed at the given institute as instructors.

The majority of the thousands of young men who were scheduled to complete their training from the branch officers training schools each year prepared themselves for their career, which they themselves picked or which was recommended for them by the party. The students considered it a privilege to become officers of the Hungarian Peoples Army.

Today, the students at the military colleges commence their training with a high school diploma and, in many instances, with some social and political experience. While training their students, the instructors and commanders at the colleges often use their own "student life" experiences to engender a love for the military profession.

One of the characteristics of the socialist armed forces is its close relationship with the working people. The most important basis of this relationship is the fact that the new officers corps arose truly from the ranks of workers and peasants. This has been felt and is also being felt today by the workers. This is proven by the fact that graduations in former days--even if they took place within the walls of the schools--were veritable

folk festivities. This tradition served as the basis for the present, more intimate inauguration festivities held each August 20.

After ten years that the officers training schools had been operating on a university level, the high command of the armed forces conducted a comprehensive study on the training of officers. The study found that young officers, who graduate from the military colleges, adapt themselves to the life of their companies within a short period of training time. Because of their political preparedness and professional aptitude, they earn acknowledgment from their superiors and respect from their subordinates. A problem was reported, however, in the technical, mechanical areas. Aside from their good theoretical and professional training, the new officers are inexperienced in the direction and conduct of every day life.

These are already more novel experiences. The instruments of military technology, the rise of electronic warfare, the progress made in battle strategy, the growing expectations demanded of a professional reserve and the accumulation of educational and training experiences have all accounted for ongoing improvement in the training of officers. We have been already training and educating with the modified training methods for four years. At the end of this school year we will be graduating, for the first time, officers who are recipients of our continuing officers training program.

I can also say that at the present--taking into consideration the achievements, the problems and the traditions of the past 35 years--our experiences are being put to good use.

Our present officers training program is entirely in conformity with the demands of the party, the government and the high military command. Parallel with the improvement and modernization of the armed forces, the program guarantees the troops a flow of progressively better trained officers.

[Question] How did the students' living and working conditions change? What changes took place in the conditions responsible for physical and intellectual growth?

[Answer] Equally important in significance, in conjunction with our instructional and educational efforts, were those changes which we have implemented at the colleges for the continuous improvement in the students' living and working conditions. Gradually, we have built new student dormitories in which we tried to provide a more friendly and home-like atmosphere.

The reconstruction of the colleges, which was begun in 1971, is the most spectacular aspect of our development. We are past its most difficult part. Our students live in a university-like setting, with four beds for each room. They study in rooms that are equipped with modern facilities. Our academy has 145 instructional bases, of which 56 are specially equipped with unique technical departments. Our laboratories and apprentice workshops number 30, among which there are language laboratories, electronics and other technical

laboratories, all equipped with modern instruments, and other workshops, similarly well-equipped.

A few years ago we began to employ new teaching techniques, such as overhead and slide projectors. The continuous use of color and closed-circuit television in instruction also proved to be useful. Most recently, computer laboratories and other technical workshops have been established.

Concerning military training, it is only natural that one should mention the high position that physical training occupies in the education of our students. We must accept the fact that only physically well-trained young people are capable of standing up to the intellectual and physical rigors required of them. In order to accomplish this, we get our students into good physical condition by gradually increasing their load. In addition to this, opportunities to pursue popular and individual sports also exist. I am not boasting when I say that our students take full advantage of these opportunities. For example, since 1981, our academy has placed either first, second or third in the total point competition of all the sports championships of the armed forces.

Spending free time constructively, pursuing higher forms of entertainment and cultural outlets is a very important aspect of military college life for both students and teachers. Our artistic ensembles have achieved significant, even nationwide renown. The Zalka folkdance ensemble has had a "gold quality" standing for the past fifteen years. The academy's chorus is also nationally famous and performs regularly on the Hungarian Radio's choral programs. This year our academy received eight gold awards, eight certificates and prize awards amounting to significant sums at various university and college cultural festivals.

At our academy, self-training and self-education is further augmented by the presence of an 80,000 volume library. At various oratory competitions the academy's representatives always performed with outstanding results. There is a well-run youth club at every company where students and regular soldiers may spend their free time in an organized fashion under refined conditions.

To summarize our present situations: Building on the historical experiences of the nearly 35 years old socialist training process--in the interest of implementing the defense policies of our party--we are proceeding with the training and the education of the future generation of military officers with political commitment and with high standards of professionalism. The all-embracing care and constant attention of the party and society have guaranteed and made possible that we accomplish our task under progressively more favorable conditions, while keeping abreast with every new technological development. All this gives ground for the realization of newer achievements.

RECRUITMENT, WORK OF SECURITY FORCES DESCRIBED

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 9 Oct 84 p 5

[Interview with Col Mieczyslaw Dabkowski, commander of the Szczecin ZOMO unit, by Maciej Czekala]

[Text] Col Mieczyslaw Dabkowski is the commander of the Szczecin ZOMO unit. He celebrates the 40th anniversary of the creation of the MO and SB also as a 40-year anniversary of his work in the Citizens' Militia.

[Question] You are probably the only functionary of the Szczecin garrison who has been in the service for so long.

[Answer] No. I remember that during the celebrations of our 35th anniversary, there were 17 of us with 35 years of experience. Today there are probably about six left.

[Question] As a rule, in such cases one asks the ritualistic question: What were your first days of work like?

[Answer] I want to say that I was brought up at home in reverence for the uniform. Even as a little boy I was already fascinated by the uniform. It was predicted that when I grew up I would certainly become a soldier. In a certain sense, that came true. The beginnings were difficult. I was born and raised in Bydgoszcz. I must say that I was very lucky in life. I don't know what guided fate... As soon as Germans entered Bydgoszcz, I was detained as a 15-year old boy. Nevertheless I was not to end up before a firing squad nor was I sent to a concentration camp. I was shipped to Prussia. For the duration of the war I worked as a slave for a local farmer.

In May 1945 I was already back in the country. I volunteered for our army and only at that time my dreams about the uniform came true. I ended up in Lodz, in an officer school. Then came the time of difficult and tragic struggle within the framework of the "Wisla" operation, namely, battle against the armed underground and counterrevolution in the Kielce Province. I must also add that I finished military service in the subdivisions of the 12th Division. I was in charge of training young soldiers then.



After demobilization I became a militiaman. At first I was in command of a post in the area of Wolin, specifically, in Reclaw. My "subordinates" were people resettled within the framework of the Bieszczady operation, thus sympathizers of the UPA [Ukrainian Insurrection Army], members of WiN [Freedom and Independence] and NSZ [National Armed Forces] armed groups. Not far away lived a high AK [Home Army] commander. Unfortunately, in that period we did not eye each other with sympathy. In any case, as a man in a militia uniform I was viewed that way. Nevertheless all ended well. I was transferred to the KP MO [District Command of the Citizens' Militia] in Kamien Pomorski. There I took the position of chief of external service. That was the term used at the time. What was the meaning of that concept? That which I did then has been taken over today by several specialized divisions: traffic and some criminal divisions. Thus I was in charge of traffic and railway accidents, fires, and the peace on city streets. The geographic area of our post's activity was very large then, from Wolin to Babigoszcz. The idea of a service car did not exist then. I remember that at the instant of receiving a signal about a fire, I did the same actions as... firemen. I simply ran as fast as I could to the fire station and together with the firemen rode to the fire. In winter, if an accident took place in a locality far from Kamien, we arrived there frozen to the bone.

There was no lack of fires. A bandit presenting himself as a devoted adherent of the ideology of "fighting collective farms" was active in our area. He was burning all barns belonging to state farms and cooperatives. In 1949 he burned in our area the amount of crops gathered in barns which equaled the obligatory procurement for our county.

We wanted to capture him alive at any cost. We did not manage. The man was encircled and fatally shot in a round-up. People in the villages began to sleep more peacefully.

From Kamien Pomorski I went to an officer school. Upon returning [sic], I no longer returned to Kamien. I began to organize in Stargard Szczecinski a militia unit which had the PKP [Polish State Railways] under its care. The year was 1954. Regional Commands of the MO were being formed. I became a commander of such a unit.

Our "entry" into the PKP made us, militiamen, realize what a difficult task was placed before us. With regard to the protection of property, in that sphere a situation existed which I can easily define as a morass. There were criminal groups which did not even hide their trade. In practice, when we took these matters in our hands, we had ready lists of criminals.

My further career was a stay in Szczecin, and concretely, the post of the district commander of Szczecin-Srodmiescie. There it became apparent that one could work 24 hours a day. For me and my colleagues who constituted the staff of that unit, it was a time of an exceptionally difficult test. Today the area which we had in our care has been divided between nearly three militia stations. Nevertheless, I do not recall that period with negative feelings. One can grow accustomed to hard, continuous work. Anyway, today, my colleague

from that period, Lt Col Kazimierz Hinc, also with 40 years of experience, works in the same building. Together we also went through the days at the end of 1970 which were tragic for us.

This seems to be my fate, that whenever something new is being created in our organs, I end up there.

At that time the Motorized Units of Citizens' Militia [ZOMO] were just being formed. I became the commander of ZOMO in Szczecin. It was 1971 and in that period very young people started joining us. This was the beginning of the procedure whereby young citizens served their 2-year military service in the MO ranks. I admit that we sometimes committed errors, particularly in educational questions. Now all of our assumptions worked out. Today, from the perspective of time, I can say that we wanted to reach ideals too fast. The shaping of human character is not an action which can be limited to a course of several weeks.

For me that period was an enormous quartermaster experience. Proper housing conditions had to be created for people. I think we managed to do that, even though neither the funds nor the quarters we had at our disposal were large.

[Question] One could say, then, Colonel, that you went from an operational worker to an educator of future militiamen.

[Answer] That is probably the case. Let me return to educational questions once more. We attach great importance to them. Our political apparatus maintains steady contact with people doing service in our ranks. These are not talks or training based on the instructor-listener principle, but rather individual conversations, following up on the results of service, talks when "lapses" occur. We cannot hope to create involved, aware people on the basis of "Attention, at ease..." I believe that in this regard we have obtained authentically positive results.

The residents of the Szczecin Region are often informed by the press about non-service actions of our militiamen, such as donating blood, actions on behalf of the city, help in harvest. These are actions which form our "educational front." In this way we teach young people that living only for oneself is not always the best thing and that one must also sacrifice oneself for the good of others. This sounds pompous; nevertheless, it is an educational truth.

[Question] If this is the case, can you please tell me what is the percentage of servicemen in the militia who remain as professionals in the ranks of the MO?

[Answer] The number of militia youth remaining permanently in our ranks is growing from one year to another in particular companies. Currently, every second man doing service, by the end of it writes a report about wishing to remain in the MO ranks.

[Question] You spoke about the requirements...

[Answer] When young people begin service in our ranks, I always meet with them. During such meetings, I tell the young the known sentence that a man who wants to serve in the security organs must meet three conditions: have a cool head, ardent heart and clean hands. If they apply these conditions in the course of their service, they will be good militiamen and will gain the respect not only of their superiors, but also of society.

[Question] I have recently accompanied militiamen from the Seventh Company during a night patrol. I learned that the service in the MO has in some cases become a family tradition. In the unit which you command, there serve Lt Swierczek and his son...

[Answer] There are many more such cases. Children of our employees come to us and remain permanently. My son also is a functionary. After all, there are many trades which pass from father to son. Why should ours be an exception?

[Question] Thank you for the conversation and on the occasion of the anniversary we wish peaceful service to you and the young people beginning service in the ranks of Citizens' Militia.

12270  
CSO:2600/88

## BRIEFS

**MILEWSKI IN SIEDLCE**--The Siedlce Voivodship Defense Committee met on 25 October in Siedlce to discuss problems of law, order, and public security. The meeting was attended by Mirosław Milewski, member of the Politburo, secretary to the Central Committee, and member of the National Defense Committee. [Text] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 84 p 5]

**TORUN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**--The Torun Voivodship Defense Committee met on 25 October to review the region's security and public safety situation. The meeting, which was chaired by Stanisław Trókowski, Torun provincial governor, was also attended by, among others, Gen. Div. Włodzimierz Oliwa, minister of Public Administration and Land Use Management, and Gen. Bde. Zdzisław Ostrowski, deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military District. Representatives of the work forces at some of the voivodship's industrial plants also attended the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 84 p 5]

**OLSZTYN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**--The Olsztyn Voivodship Defense Committee met to discuss the record of performance in the implementation of the region's socioeconomic plan over the first three-quarters of 1984. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 84 p 5]

CSO: 2600/131

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES FLEMISH PARTY OFFICIAL

AU262100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/10/1984--On October 26 RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, received Frank Swaelen, president of the Christian-Social Flemish Party (CSFP) of Belgium, who visits Romania at the invitation of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

Nicolae Ceasescu viewed that the visit of the CSFP president was an expression of the good relations existing between that party and the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a contribution to expanding the contacts between the political forces in our continent, and the cooperation between them for a united Europe of peace and collaboration.

During the interview that proceeded in a cordial atmosphere the sides highlighted the good mutual relations and considered that their further expansion contributed to the amplification of the ties of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Belgium. The sides pointed out that wide possibilities existed for a strengthening and deepening of these relations to the benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, detente, security and collaboration in Europe and throughout the world.

Related to [as received] the current international issues President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the grave situation in Europe and throughout the world, and pointed out the need for a united struggle of peoples, of all the peace-loving forces in view of halting the siting of the American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in certain West European countries, and the nuclear countermeasures of the USSR, for a resumption of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in view of an agreement conducive to the elimination of missiles and then of all the nuclear weapons from the continent.

The guest expressed the special appreciation enjoyed by Romania's constructive policy that is promoted consistently by President Nicolae Ceausescu for implementation of disarmament, a resumption and consolidation of the course towards detente, peace and understanding among all the peoples of the world.

Both sides showed that the European peoples had to take greater responsibility and work most firmly to change the situation currently existing in our continent, to prevent it from the nuclear destruction.



During the talks the sides pointed out the importance of solving all the interstate issues, the states of conflict in various zones of the globe exclusively through peaceful negotiations while renouncing for good the use of force and of the threat of force in the international relations.

Tamara Dobrin, executive chairwoman of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council, participated.

Jan Frans Maes, Bucharest, ambassador of Belgium, was present.

CSO: 2020/17

FOUR NEW ENVOYS RECEIVED BY CEAUSESCU

AU052012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 5 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5/11/1984--Calls on President Nicolae Ceausescu:

--Australia's Ambassador

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on November 5 John Henry Allen Hoyle, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Australia to Romania.

In the address presented on the occasion, the ambassador evoked the good relations between Australia and Romania and emphasized the development possibilities of those relations, to mutual benefit. He assessed highly the constructive role of Romania's policy on an external plane and pointed to the two countries' common standpoints on a string of current international matters.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted in the address of reply the relations between Romania and Australia, the favourable premises at hand for their amplification 'n the two countries' and peoples' interests. He also expressed the confidence that the two states could develop good collaboration in international life, for a policy of peace, independence and cooperation the world over. He stressed in the address that Romania worked for the halting of the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear above all, for the extinction of the conflicts and the peaceful settlement of the interstate disputed issues, for a new international economic order.

--Venezuela's Ambassador

The same day, President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Venezuela to Romania, Demetrio Boersner.

In his address, the ambassador expressed the Venezuelan Government's sincere wish to strengthen and intensify the links of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, to expand the collaboration in the political, economic and cultural domains, as well as in international relations. He also appreciated the efforts made by the Romanian head of state for peace

and detente, for the policy of independence and collaboration, of constructive settlement of the complex issues facing contemporary world.

The Romanian head of state expressed in his address of reply the wish to develop and diversify the cooperation between Romania and Venezuela in the economic, political and other domains of mutual interest as well as in the international arena, in order to increase the two countries' contribution to the establishment of new interstate relations, based on full equality, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. He pointed out in the address that Romania campaigned for the defense of peace, for disarmament, nuclear above all, for the negotiated settlement of the interstate disputed issues, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, for the building of a world of peace and collaboration.

[AU052022]--Denmark's ambassador

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on November 5 too, the credentials of Mogens Edsberg, the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Denmark to Romania.

In the ambassador's address, stress is laid on the fine relations with long-standing traditions between Denmark and Romania, on which the present ties of friendship and mutual respect between the two countries are based, ties which have strengthened after President Nicolae Ceausescu's and Elena Ceausescu's visit to Denmark. The Danish Government's wish is also expressed to intensify the cooperation between the two countries on a stable and advantageous basis.

In the Romanian head of state's address of reply, the growing evolution of the relations of cooperation between Romania and Denmark is highly assessed and the conviction is expressed that the two countries' economic potential allows for a more substantial increase of the Romanian-Danish economic, technico-scientific and cultural links. It is also assessed that Romania and Denmark have fine conditions to develop a fruitful collaboration at the Stockholm Conference as well as at the United Nations, for the settlement of the major issues confronting the continent, for understanding, security and peace the world over.

--GDR's Ambassador

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, also received on November 5, Herbert Plaschke, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the German Democratic Republic in Bucharest.

Handing over the credentials, Ambassador Herbert Plaschke conveyed the Romanian head of state and the Socialist Republic of Romania's party and state leaders most cordial wishes and best wishes from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR.

GDR's ambassador evoked in his address the fraternal solidarity and cooperation between the two parties, states and peoples and the decisive role of meetings between Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu in the development and expansion of these relations. Emphasis is also placed on the Romanian people's successes and accomplishments in the 40 years of free life and on the balancesheet of GDR's achievements in the 35 years since the creation of the state.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the wishes and conveyed Erich Honecker, the party and state leaders and the people of the German Democratic Republic a warm friendly salute and best wishes.

In his address of reply, the Romanian head of state stresses that the relations between Romania and the GDR witness a growing course in all fields, to the advantage of both peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace the world over.

Stress is laid on the highly important role of summit talks in the development of the Romanian-East German friendship and cooperation, talks that have opened new prospects to the relations between the RCP and SUPG, between the two countries and peoples, the conviction is also expressed that Romania and the GDR will actively cooperate further for a policy of international peace, detente and cooperation, for a better and more just world on our planet.

After the presentation ceremony, President Nicolae Ceausescu cordially conversed with the four ambassadors.

CSO: 2020/17

## BRIEFS

BRASOV MARKS GOSR ANNIVERSARY--Bucharest AGERPRES 5/11/1984--Within the events organized in Romania in marking of 67 years since the victorious October Socialist Revolution, the Brasov Truck-Manufacturing Enterprise hosted a festive meeting with workers, engineers, technical staff, representatives of the local party and state bodies participating, on November 5. Members of the Bucharest embassy of the Soviet Union attended. Constantin Ratoi, secretary of the party committee of that enterprise, chairman of the working people's council, and L.I. Boykov, minister counsellor of the Bucharest embassy of the Soviet Union talked about the historic importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The speakers represented the achievements of the Soviet peoples and of the Romanian people in the work of building socialism and communism. At the same time they pointed out the relations of tight friendship and multilateral collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples and the decisive role the summit interviews and understandings play for the expansion and deepening of the Romanian-Soviet collaboration to mutual benefit and to that of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 5 Nov 84]

CRAIOVA MEETING MARKS ANNIVERSARY--Bucharest, AGERPRES 1/11/1984--On November 1, Craiova venue a festive meeting devoted to the 67th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Eng. Dumitru Amzu, technical manager of the local "Electroputere" works, and Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, spoke about the historical significance of the event. The speakers highlighted the achievements made by the Soviet working people in the economic and social development of the USSR, in the building of the communist society. Emphasis was placed on the great accomplishments of the Romanian people in the building up of the multilaterally developed socialist society. It was stressed that the ties of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU, between the two countries' peoples had long-standing traditions, taking a steadily ascending course on a political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural plane, as well as in other fields of activity. It was underscored that a decisive role in the continual development of the manysided Romanian-Soviet relations was played by the meetings and talks between the two countries' party and state leaders, which confer each time new valences on the two parties', countries' and people's relations as a whole. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2003 GMT 1 Nov 84]



ROMANIAN DELEGATION TO ALGERIA--Bucharest, AGERPRES 1/11/1984--President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria received the Romanian delegation headed by Gheorghe Cazan, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, who attend the festivities marking the 30th anniversary of the Algerian revolution. Messages of friendship were exchanged on the occasion between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and the Algerian head of state. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1459 GMT 1 Nov 84]

DEPARTING TURKISH ENVOY--Bucharest AGERPRES 1/11/1984--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on November 1 the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Bucharest, Nahit Ozgur, on a farewell call at the end of his mission in Romania. The talk on the occasion proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 1 Nov 84]

AUSTRIAN LEADER GREETED--To Comrade Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party [KPOe]. Esteemed Comrade Franz Muhri, on the occasion of your 60th birthday, it is my pleasure to convey to you warmest congratulations and wishes for health and personal happiness, as well as success in your activity as leader of the KPOe, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, all the communists and working people of Romania, and on my own behalf. The Romanian communists and the Romanian working people are aware of and appreciate your qualities as an experienced leader of the communist movement and prominent militant of the progressive and democratic forces of Austria, in the struggle for attaining the fundamental aspirations of the working people, for the progress and well-being of the people. I take this opportunity to stress with satisfaction the good relations of friendship and solidarity established between the RCP and the KPOe and to express my conviction that these relations will further develop to the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of the cause of security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world, and of socialism and peace. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Oct 84 p 5]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO POLAND--Through a presidential decree, Comrade Ion Tesu was appointed as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to the People's Republic of Poland, replacing Comrade Ion Cosma. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Oct 84 p 5]

CS0: 2700/28

MAMULA GREET'S AIRCRAFT FACTORY ON ANNIVERSARY

LD310343 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 31 Oct 84

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct, (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Orao aircraft factory Admiral of the Fleet Branko Memula, federal secretary for national defense, has sent this collective the following greetings:

On the occasion of your jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the Orao aircraft factory, I send you my most cordial greetings. In your development you have gone along the road from a small workshop for repairing and overhauling aircraft to a highly technologically equipped factory in our aircraft industry capable of overhauling and producing the most contemporary jet engines and spare parts for our aircraft. In this way you have made an important contribution to the realization of Tito's concept of also relying on our own resources in this important sphere in the development of our military aeronautics and thus to the strengthening of our country's defense capabilities as a whole. In maintaining the combat readiness of our military aircraft and anti-aircraft defense you are also faced with the major commitments in the future of working to attain absolute expertise, increasing the quality of your work and preserving the moral and political strength of your collective. Congratulating you on the 40th anniversary of your successful work, I wish you even greater successes in ensuring the readiness of our military aircraft and anti-aircraft defense, raising the combat readiness of our armed forces and preserving the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities.

CSO: 2800/71

## VOJVODINA PRESIDENCY DISCUSSES DEFENSE, LAW ENFORCEMENT

LD011951 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Text] Novi Sad, 1 Nov (TANJUG)--At its session today, chaired by Nandor Major, the presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina discussed the report on speeding up the work on the defense plan of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina; they settled the changes and supplements and the tasks of all those involved in planning and coordinating all-people's defense.

At the beginning of the session the Vojvodina presidency paid homage with a minute of silence to Indira Gandhi, the prime minister of friendly and non-aligned Republic of India, who died tragically.

The Vojvodina presidency noted that the reinforcing of the armed forces and other structures of all-people's defense in Vojvodina toward combat-strength was progressing well. In order to improve the reinforcement process in terms of people and equipment, the presidency decided that national defense councils of sociopolitical communities, in cooperation with officers and units of the Yugoslav People's Army, will examine the progress of reinforcement in their territories, and take relevant steps to ensure it meets war-time requirements.

The presidency of Vojvodina is reported to have also discussed the issues of military training of women volunteers in the armed forces and decided in favor of continuing this training in Vojvodina.

The Vojvodina presidency was also acquainted with some issues involved in detecting, prosecuting and sentencing perpetrators of criminal acts and economic offenses as well as economic crime in Vojvodina. The assessment was made that economic crimes were among the most dangerous, threatening socio-economic relations in our self-managing socialist system and exerting a negative influence on the efforts of the working class and all organized socialist forces, to implement the socio-economic stabilization policy.

Despite constant consolidation of self-management, strengthening of socialist morals in the consciousness and conduct of the people who have been entrusted with social property, and the constant strengthening of socialist self-managing relations, the presidency of Vojvodina points out the need for the police and judicial organs to make their full contribution by consistently carrying out their rights and duties laid down by the law, the more successfully combat these socially harmful types of conduct and to consolidate constitutionality and legality.

SERBIAN TU PRESIDIU ON KOSOVO EMIGRATION

AU011722 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 84

[Aleksandar Ljubicic report]

[Text] The Council Presidium of the Serbian Trade Union Federation has discussed the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and from the Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja communes. The Presidium condemned, among other things, the positions of Dzemailj Dzibo, president of the council of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation, which were set forth in an interview to RADNICKE NOVINE, in which he said that the basic and the most important reason for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and of other peoples and nationalities was of an economic nature. His interview published under the title "Looking for a Better Livelihood" was commented upon by the newspaper RAD. The interview was also reported by other newspapers. Here is Aleksandar Ljubicic:

The Presidium noted that the correction made by Dzemailj Dzibo, who said that he did not authorize the full text of his interview, did not deviate essentially from the basic motive, and thus his public utterances were described as a peculiar assistance to the Albanian propaganda. Before the Council Presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation made this appraisal, Stanimir Ivanovic, who delivered the introductory speech, speaking about the problem of emigration, said among other things:

[Begin Ivanovic recording] A small decline in emigration this year, as compared with the same period of last year, is as much the result of political and other activity as of the fall in the total number of Serbs and Montenegrins in these areas. This means that both these facts do not mean that the general trend of emigration has been reduced. The problem also lies in the fact that many present inhabitants of Kosovo and of the Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja communes are buying at an unreduced rate building lots, houses, or apartments in Serbia, Vojvodina and other parts of our country, or that they are looking for a job. The reason for this behavior lies in the fact that the climate of uncertainty has not been greatly reduced, that differentiation has not been carried out consistently, and that the real centers of hostile counterrevolution have not been discovered and liquidated.

The second reason for uncertainty and a lack of confidence are the phenomena of ineffectiveness of the state organs, particularly the investigating and judicial organs; the lack of legality in protecting one's person, self-managing rights, and the social property; irresponsible and ineffective behavior of the individual cadres; as well as the phenomena of opportunism, irresponsibility, and an unprofessional approach, or alarming recent statements by the individual responsible persons. [End recording]

Stanimir Ivanovic also posed the question why, even after 3 years, emigration has not been vitally halted, why pressures have not been removed, and who were the people in Kosovo who did not work to implement the measures and conclusions on preventing emigration. Ivanovic believes that the Council Presidium of the Serbian Trade Union Federation should report the Serbian Assembly's resolute demand that the SFRY Assembly should end the discussion as soon as possible and adopt a pertinent decision on the appearance and the use of flags of the nationalities in our country.

We cannot say anything more at this moment about what will happen with the president of the Council of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation. For, the Council of the Kosovo Trade Unions makes a statutory decision about this. It was expected that Dzemailj Dzibo who, by virtue of his post, is a member of the Presidium of the Serbian Trade Unions, would attend today's session. However, he did not attend this session and Radisav Jovanovic, who chaired the session, did not explain his absence.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

NEW ANTI-HAIL ROCKET--Belgrade, 31 Oct, (TANJUG)--Anti-hail protection firing ranges throughout the country will shortly acquire a new anti-hail rocket, the Sako 6. This is the latest product of the Sava Kovacevic naval technical maintenance depot in Tivat, who experts have recently completed the final testing of the rocket whose range is 6,000m. The rocket's simple handling does not call for any particular skill and with small modifications the Sako 6 rocket, apart from anti-hail protection, can also be used for offensive purposes by territorial defense units. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 31 Oct 84 ID]

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